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EDITORIAL

We welcome Mrs. Glueck's paper as an attempt to familiarize a wider public with one of our most burning problems, namely the possibility of predicting, at an early age, future serious delinquency. The great practical significance of diagnostic devices such as the Tables offered in that study is beyond doubt. In 1950, 26,222 children under fourteen years of age were found guilty of indictable offences by the English Juvenile Courts. 16 per cent. of them were discharged absolutely, 18 per cent. conditionally, 40 per cent. were placed on probation, 15 per cent. fined, 7 per cent. sent to Approved Schools and the remaining 4 per cent. dealt with ' otherwise '. Whether in individual cases the choice of these various methods of disposal was right or wrong, we do not know at present and may in some cases find out when it is too late. If Juvenile Courts, Child Guidance Clinics and similar agencies could be given reliable diagnostic instruments, much could be saved in money, labour, and misery. Whether the devices described in ' Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency ' are already reliable enough to achieve their object only experience can show. In any case, they should be given a fair trial.

Prediction studies have so far mostly concentrated on the likely success and failure of offenders subjected to institutional treatment. In the field of probation, investigations of this kind have been comparatively rare, although a few large-scale studies have been made in the United States. One of the reasons for this neglect may have been the greater difficulty of ascertaining the truth about the conduct of probationers after the termination of their period of probation. There is no official ' after-care ' attached to probation. However, even for institutional forms of treatment the real test of success comes only after the period of official supervision. Dr. Grünhut's paper makes no claim to present more than the results of a pilot study based upon a small number of cases selected by probation officers as conspicuous ' successes ' or ' failures '. This method of selection, as the author is aware,

may introduce a certain bias which will no doubt be eliminated in the subsequent larger enquiry envisaged. Making due allowance for their tentative character, some of the conclusions so far reached are not without interest, in particular the high rate of success achieved with illegitimate and step-children. These cases may belong to the category with, to quote from Mrs. Glueck, ' a high chance of potential delinquency as determined by the factors of social background, but a low chance as derived from the factors of basic character structure or the dynamics of personality '.

But whatever may be the results of future researches along these general lines it is already clear that, to render them more fruitful, extensive collateral investigations into existing systems of classification of delinquent states are urgently required. As Mrs. Glueck makes clear, accurate prognostication depends on accurate diagnosis: and the more we know of the etiology of a condition the more accurate our diagnosis becomes. The work of the Portman Clinic (I.S.T.D.) has demonstrated the practicability, not only of isolating delinquencies due to well-defined pathological states, physical or mental, from those delinquencies in which no such pathological characteristics were present, but also of establishing reasonably accurate groupings of different varieties of ' pathological delinquency '. It is always easier to predict the conduct of a pathological type than to gauge the future behaviour of a so-called normal person. Obviously the prognosis of episodic delinquency of an anxiety type is different from that of chronic aggressive psychopathy. To instance but one problem in the field of socio-legal diagnosis, the after-history of a case of stealing ' within the family ' is different from that of stealing ' without the family ', although the legal characterization of the offence is the same in both cases.

Not only so, the very terms ' after-history ', ' follow-up ', ' recidivism ' and the like no longer conform to our present scientific requirements. An obsessional delinquent is more frequently classified as a recidivist, or, as Dr. Grünhut would say, a ' failure ', than a hysterical delinquent, although in fact his ' recidivism ' is actually a feature of the disease and is not in the clinical sense after-history at all. In the social sense it seems natural to judge of, say, the effects of probation, by observing the offender's behaviour after supervision has ceased; but in the clinical sense the results are bound to be misleading. At the very least, prediction methods based on studies of unclassified groups of ' offences ' can give us only the average outcome in a mixed sample: it cannot give us that detailed information which we have come to expect from present-day researches.

PREDICTING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY[1]

By ELEANOR T. GLUECK (BOSTON)

INTRODUCTION

A boy of fourteen enters a dry-cleaning establishment, holds up the cashier for money, is refused, and shoots to kill. It is soon noised about that this is his first offence, that he has been a ' good kid ', well thought of in the neighbourhood. He is now serving a life term in prison. Could his serious fall from grace have been predicted years before, the life of an innocent victim spared and his own life set on a path that would have avoided this catastrophe?

Two sets of brothers, ranging in age from six to nine years, enter a school building, smash up a grand piano, spatter the walls, floors, and drinking fountains with paint and iodine, damage phonograph records, flood the gymnasium floor and scatter physical education films and equipment. All of this ' just for fun '. Are they all on the road to criminality or is this just a passing ' lark ', to be punished to be sure, but not to be taken too seriously?

Many may hold that in the case of the young murderer, committing his presumably first offence at the age of fourteen, it would not have been possible to have foretold at the age of six that he would develop into a serious delinquent. They may feel that the four boys who wreaked so much destruction inside the school building are ' hell bent ' for careers of crime. And they may react with scepticism to the suggestion that it would have been possible to predict that three out of the four young vandals are hardly likely to continue in their delinquencies, but that one of the four, on the contrary, has a high chance of becoming a serious offender. Yet a promising technique for picking out the sheep from the goats at school entrance has been evolved.

The method I am about to describe of ' spotting ' potential offenders by applying prediction or, as I prefer to call them, diagnostic tables, at the point of school entrance, is not based on any magic formula. It is rather a crystallization from the results of a long-term intensive and painstaking research endeavour carried out over a ten-year period under the auspices of the Harvard Law School with a considerable staff of social investigators, psychologists, a physician, a psychiatrist, and an anthropologist, who worked under the direction of Professor Sheldon Glueck and myself.

Some readers are possibly familiar with several of our earlier researches

[1] Delivered at Massachusetts Conference of Social Work, Hotel Statler, Boston, November 29, 1951.

in this field, described in ' Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency '.[2] For the convenience of those who are not, I propose making a brief résumé of the purposes and design of the research. I hope that when I come to describe the diagnostic or prediction tables, I shall be able to convince the reader that they have a solid basis in scientifically gathered data and that in the hands of highly skilled social workers, psychologists, and psychiatrists they can be relied on to achieve two vitally important ends: to ' spot ', at the point of school entrance, those children who are very likely to develop into serious offenders unless some constructive intervention deflects them from the course they are headed towards; and to distinguish, among children already showing some signs of maladaptive behaviour, those who are true delinquents from those who are merely trying their wings in the process of growing up.

PURPOSE AND DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH

The research reported upon in ' Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency ' was undertaken mainly as an inquiry into the causes of juvenile crime. A search for causes in this field is not new. There have been many able investigators: among them Dr. William Healy and Dr. Augusta Bronner, now Directors-Emeriti of the Judge Baker Guidance Centre of Boston (Massachusetts); Cyril Burt of London; Shaw of Chicago; Slawson, Franz Alexander, Karpman, Lindner, and others. But as we examined their works, we became convinced of the need for a more extensive research than any as yet carried out. None of the earlier American and English inquiries, for example, had given adequate consideration to a possible biological basis of delinquency. None had made a systematic study of the character structure of delinquents, and there were other gaps in research which we sought to fill. Basically, the fault of past researches has been that of the blind men with the elephant in the fable, concluding that the piece of the causal whole that they happened to have touched was typical of the entire problem. Furthermore, few of the earlier studies used any control groups of non-delinquents; where they were used at all they were not sufficiently large or otherwise reliable to make it certain whether the characteristics ascribed to delinquents were or were not markedly similar to or different from those of non-delinquents.

The research that we carried out at the Harvard Law School into crime causation concerned 500 persistently delinquent boys selected from the correctional schools of Massachusetts, and 500 non-delinquent boys selected from the Boston State schools. As a basis for the detailed examinations and investigations of these thousand lads, the delinquents and non-delinquents

[2] New York: The Commonwealth Fund; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1950. (See the Critical Notice in *Brit. J. Delinq.*, Vol. II, pp. 259–264.)

were first matched, case for case, by age, intelligence and ethnic derivation; and all were selected from the poorer districts of Boston. There seemed wisdom in turning the spotlight of inquiry on such a group and setting up a control of boys from the same kind of neighbourhoods, a basic question being: Why is it that some boys growing up in poor areas become delinquent while others, similarly handicapped, do not?

Detailed comparison of the delinquents with the non-delinquents in respect of some 400 biological, psychological, psychiatric, and sociological factors enabled us to determine exactly in what respects the two groups differ. From this, there followed logically the question: Is it possible, from among the marked differences between delinquents and non-delinquents, to devise some means by which these traits and characteristics might serve as a basis for an early diagnosis of delinquency?

I believe we have been able to do this. But before describing these means I shall indicate briefly what examinations were carried out in order to arrive at the factors which really distinguish delinquents from non-delinquents. First of all, a standard medical examination was made covering all external portions of the body and any obvious defects and malformations. Full-length photographs of each boy were taken (front, side, and back) according to the method described by Dr. William Sheldon,[3] for the purpose of ultimate classification into type of physique (as an indication of the boy's biological constitution). The Wechsler-Bellevue Test was applied by us as best suited to our purposes because it contains not only verbal but also performance material, and made it possible to look behind the total I.Q. to learn something about the components and quality of the intelligence of the delinquents as compared with the non-delinquents. To determine the basis of personality and character structure, we decided to apply to all the boys the Rorschach Test—admittedly one of the most penetrating of the projective tests if administered and interpreted competently. I might say parenthetically that this is the first time in any study of delinquency that the Rorschach Test has been applied on so extensive a scale, not only to a large series of delinquents but also to a reliable control group of non-delinquents. To supplement the Rorschach Test a highly skilled psychiatrist had one interview with each boy, during which he inquired about school interests, employment activities, recreational outlets, and, more especially, intra-family relations. From these data he made his own skilled estimate of the child's personality and emotional problems. In addition to all these tests and examinations, a very intensive social history of the family and personal background of each youngster was undertaken. I think that those of my readers who have read the opening chapters in ' Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency ' devoted to the

[3] ' Varieties of Human Physique.' New York: Harper Bros., 1940.

methods of gathering and verifying the data for this research will agree that no stone has been left unturned to ensure their completeness, accuracy and validity. Case workers will be especially interested to know that it took a considerable and highly trained staff of social investigators eight years to compile and verify these 1,000 social case histories.

The extent of the entire enterprise may be judged from the fact that the medical schedule comprised 30 factors, the physique schedule 55, the psychological 56, the Rorschach 57, the psychiatric examination 55, and the social investigation 149, making a total of 402 factors all carefully gathered, verified and checked, on which the 500 persistent delinquents and the 500 non-delinquents were ultimately compared factor for factor.

It is also of importance that the data in each field of the inquiry were gathered independently, to avoid possible ' infection ' of the information gathered by one expert through the ' reading in ' of data obtained from another.

BASIS OF PREDICTION TABLES

It is not possible here to present all the findings of this research. Those who are interested can consult ' Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency ' (or a simplified version of it entitled ' Delinquents in the Making ').[4] But I hope that what we have learned about the differences between delinquents and non-delinquents will encourage community planners to tackle with renewed vigor and understanding the formulation of community-wide preventive programmes which can now be directed toward more specific targets than heretofore; and furnish those who are in a therapeutic relationship to delinquents and their families (such as social workers, psychiatrists, teachers, religious leaders, correctional workers) certain clues to individual psychotherapy that promise improved therapeutic results. More research and more experimentation are needed, but at least we have passed the stage of blind ' trial-and-error '.

Laying aside the detailed findings, then, the purpose of this presentation is to focus attention upon the technique that developed from the research findings already mentioned on the basis of which it becomes possible (*a*) to make a diagnosis of delinquency before any marked signs of maladaptive behaviour are yet apparent, and (*b*) to distinguish the true potential delinquent from among children who are already showing signs of what appears to be maladaptive behaviour. Such a technique is obviously the cornerstone of any inclusive plan to cope with juvenile delinquency.

Prediction techniques are of fairly recent origin in the field of delinquency, the first being devised almost simultaneously, although by different methods,

[4] New York: Harper and Bros., 1952.

by Professor Burgess, of Chicago University, and ourselves at Harvard University in the late 1920's. However, these and others that followed were concerned to predict, in the case of boys already delinquent or criminal, their subsequent behaviour *during* and *following* various forms of peno-correctional treatment. The story of the progress of prediction devices by the methods of Burgess, Glueck, and others is too long to tell here; but it ranges from early scepticism, to hesitant acceptance finally to actual use in the Illinois Parole Board, and, somewhat tentatively, elsewhere.[5] But the entire emphasis of these researches was on predicting the future behaviour of those already frankly criminal. It is only as a result of our present inquiry that prediction tables have been developed for the purpose of finding the true *pre*-delinquent; and of distinguishing among children showing early signs of maladapted behaviour those who are very probably headed for criminal careers (unless promptly and adequately treated) from those whose peccadilloes are superficial and quickly sloughed off.

The theory behind such prediction tables is that which underlies any kind of actuarial work. It merely represents objectified and tabulated experience based upon numerous cases. Insurance companies have built up actuarial tables out of the thousands of cases which they have handled or studied, from which they can determine what are the chances of longevity for persons of various ages, different physical conditions, occupations, and so on. On the basis of such tables they are able to determine whether or not a particular applicant for insurance is a good insurance risk. The theory is sound and has worked satisfactorily in the field of insurance. It is as yet very new in the practice of administering criminal justice, but sufficient analysis of the methods involved, and some test of their operation, have demonstrated their feasibility in the field of parole, and suggest their practicability in the imposition of sentence.

We need not spend time on the technique of constructing these diagnostic tables beyond pointing out that each table is made up of five factors that highly differentiate serious delinquents from true non-delinquents. These are combined to sum up the total of the respective weights of the five factors in the predictive constellation, this resulting in what we call a ' weighted failure score '. The ultimate result enables a youngster to be scored on his status as to each prediction factor, thus showing (at a stage in his life when preventive efforts are likely to bear the most fruit, *i.e.* before the pattern of antisociality becomes fixed or of long standing) what his chances are of delinquency or non-delinquency.

Three prediction (or diagnostic) tables were constructed from among the

[5] For references see footnotes Nos. 2 and 3 on pp. 216–217 of ' Criminal Careers in Retrospect.' The Commonwealth Fund, 1943.

factors of most marked difference between the 500 delinquents and 500 non-delinquents: (*a*) in traits of their basic character structure as derived from the Rorschach Test; (*b*) in personality traits as derived by psychiatric interview; and (*c*) in their early family history as derived from the social investigations. At least three additional prediction tables could have been constructed from the available data—one based on the medical findings, another on the psychological, and a third on the physique data. There were good reasons why these were not attempted into which I need not enter here.

Let us now consider briefly the three diagnostic tables, disposing rapidly of the first two and focusing more of our attention on the third because it is the one that could be applied by skilled social workers.

The first table, dealing with the traits of basic character structure as derived from the Rorschach Test, is made up of the following five factors: assertiveness, defiance, suspiciousness, destructiveness, and emotional lability. The second, based on the most marked differences in personality traits between delinquents and non-delinquents, as determined by psychiatric interview, rests upon the factors of adventurousness, extroversion in action, suggestibility, stubbornness, and emotional instability. The third table, and the one which is of the most interest to social workers, is built upon the following five factors in the relationship of the child and his family: discipline of the child by the father, supervision of the child by the mother, affection of the father for the child, affection of the mother for the child, and the cohesiveness of the family group. We will come shortly to the definition of these last five factors.

The prediction tables resulting from the three sets of data had best be viewed in juxtaposition (Chart A).

An examination of these quickly reveals that the prediction value of each one of these tables is roughly the same, ranging from about a 1 in 10 likelihood of delinquency for a boy having the lowest score to an almost 9 in 10 chance for a boy who falls in the highest failure-score category.

It is evident that each one of the three tables has about the same prediction capacity. However, further exploration brought the discovery that the tables are not entirely interchangeable; in a small proportion of cases, roughly 13 per cent., although a boy is identified as a delinquent by one of the tables, he is not necessarily so identified by one or both of the other tables. This finding in no way nullifies the value of these prediction devices. If anything, their usefulness is enhanced. If, for example, a boy is shown to have a high degree of potential delinquency as determined by the factors of his social background, but a low degree as determined by the factors of his basic character structure (derived by the Rorschach Test) or the dynamics of his personality (derived from examination by a psychiatrist), this would

CHART A

(1) PREDICTION TABLE BASED ON TRAITS OF CHARACTER STRUCTURE (DERIVED FROM RORSCHACH TEST)

Weighted Failure Score Class	*Chances of Delinquency (per hundred)*	*Chances of Non-Delinquency (per hundred)*
Under 205 . .	14·7	85·3
205–254 . .	38·9	61·1
255–279 . .	64·0	36·0
280 and over .	87·9	12·1

Table XX–7, p. 264, U.J.D.

(2) PREDICTION TABLE BASED ON PERSONALITY TRAITS DERIVED FROM PSYCHIATRIC INTERVIEW

Weighted Failure Score Class	*Chances of Delinquency (per hundred)*	*Chances of Non-Delinquency (per hundred)*
Under 220 . .	10·4	89·6
220–244 . .	43·0	57·0
245–269 . .	63·0	37·0
270 and over .	87·4	12·6

Table XX–11, p. 266, U.J.D.

(3) PREDICTION TABLE DERIVED FROM FACTORS OF SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Weighted Failure Score Class	*Chances of Delinquency (per hundred)*	*Chances of Non-Delinquency (per hundred)*
Under 200 . .	8·2	91·8
200–249 . .	37·0	63·0
250–299 . .	63·5	36·5
300 and over .	89·2	10·8

Table XX–3, p. 262, U.J.D.

indicate to us that, because his misbehaviour is not deeply rooted, the chances of early preventive treatment are excellent, providing the necessary attention is directed toward improving the home conditions revealed by the social data. It would seem in such a situation that we are dealing essentially with

an environmental offender, and that the environmental stimuli to delinquency have been so recent or superficial that their impact has not given rise to the more recalcitrant traits of basic personality or character structure. If the opposite is true, namely, that the boy's chances of delinquency are low in accordance with the social prediction table but high in accordance with either or both the Rorschach and psychiatric prediction tables, it should indicate to a clinician that he may be dealing with a very recalcitrant individual, the prevention of whose delinquent career might be extremely difficult and involve nothing short of a basic reorganization of his character structure and temperamental make-up. Here it is probable that the difficulties are deeply rooted. It is in this field that the most important pioneering with new types of character therapy needs to be carried on.

Now let us focus our attention on the prediction tables based on the five factors in the *social background* of the boys. It is precisely in the work of strengthening the family life and environment of the individual that skilled social workers can participate, both in broad-gauged preventive programmes directed toward specific targets for delinquency control and in aiding the clinician in that part of the psychotherapy or character-therapy of a youngster that deals with his intra-familial relationships.

The factors are defined as follows: [6]

(1) Discipline of Boy by Father

Lax: Father is negligent, indifferent, lets boy do what he likes.

Overstrict: Father is harsh, unreasoning, demands obedience through fear.

Erratic: Father varies between strictness and laxity, is not consistent in control.

Firm and Kindly: Discipline is based on sound reason which the boy understands and accepts as fair.

(2) Supervision of Boy by Mother

Suitable: If mother does not work outside the home and is not ill, she personally keeps close watch on the boy or provides for his leisure hours in clubs or playgrounds. If she is ill or out of the home a great deal, there is a responsible adult in charge.

Fair: Mother, though at home, gives only partial supervision to boy.

Unsuitable: Mother is careless in her supervision, leaving the boy to his own devices without guidance, or in the care of an irresponsible child or adult.

(3) Affection of Father for Boy

(4) Affection of Mother for Boy

Warm: Parent is sympathetic, kind, attached, even, in some cases, overprotective.

Indifferent: Parent does not pay much attention to boy.

Hostile: Parent rejects boy.

[6] From p. 270, ' Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency '.

(5) Cohesiveness of Family

Cohesive: There is a strong ' we-feeling ' among members of the immediate family as evidenced by co-operativeness, group interests, pride in the home, affection for each other. ' All for one and one for all.'

Some Elements of Cohesion: Even if the family group may not be entirely intact (because of departure of one or more members), the remaining group of which the boy is a part has at least some of the characteristics of the cohesive family.

Unintegrated: Home is just a place to ' hang your hat '; self-interest of the members exceeds group interest.

It will be agreed that those who are skilled in assessing familial data could without too much difficulty gather the materials necessary for placing a particular boy in his appropriate category in regard to each one of these five factors.

Let me illustrate briefly how the table works (see Chart B).

CHART B

Five Predictive Factors from Social Background with Delinquency Score of each Subcategory

(1) Discipline of Boy by Father (71·8) Overstrict or erratic (59·8) Lax (9·3) Firm but kindly
(2) Supervision of Boy by Mother (83·2) Unsuitable (57·5) Fair (9·9) Suitable
(3) Affection of Father for Boy (75·9) Indifferent or hostile (33·8) Warm (including overprotective)
(4) Affection of Mother for Boy (86·2) Indifferent or hostile (43·1) Warm (including overprotective)
(5) Cohesiveness of Family (96·9) Unintegrated (61·3) Some elements of cohesion (20·6) Cohesive

You learn that Johnny's father is overstrict in his discipline of the boy. The boy is therefore scored 71·8 on this factor. The mother leaves him quite to his own devices, allowing him to run about the street at will and not

knowing what he does or where he goes. On this he is scored 83·2. The father clearly dislikes the boy, expressing his hostility in no uncertain terms. The score here is 75·9. The mother has little warmth of feeling for him. She is *indifferent* to the boy. Score is 86·2. As regards the cohesiveness of the family unit, it has to be regarded as *unintegrated* because the mother spends most of the day away from home, giving little if any thought to the doings of the children; and the father, who likes his liquor, seeks every opportunity to hang around beer parlours and cafés with his own friends. The boy is therefore scored 96·9. Addition of the score results in a total of 414. Consultation of the prediction table (Chart A, Table 3) places this boy in the group whose chances of delinquency are 9 out of 10. This is so high that it warrants preventive treatment.

In another instance, you have a boy of eight whose teachers complain that he is beginning to play truant, that he is very stubborn, and that it is known he has stolen a few trifles from the local 5 and 10 cent. store. Is he on the road to a criminal career? Your investigation into the five factors that comprise the prediction (or diagnostic) table reveals that, although the boy's father is firm and kindly in his discipline (score 9·3), the mother does not put forth enough effort and thought in supervising the boy (score 57·5); both parents, however, have a warm affectional relationship to him (score 33·8 and 43·1), and the family ties are close (20·6). The total ' delinquency ' score is 164·3. Reference to the Prediction Table reveals that there is less than 1 chance in 10 that this boy is headed for a career of crime. Some hints to the mother about planning for suitable leisure time for the boy in accordance with his temperamental needs give promise of fruitful results, and save him from the label of delinquency.

In doubtful cases, also, the application of the two other prediction tables provides the answers and serves as a guide to psychotherapy.

DISCUSSION

I would not have the reader infer that these diagnostic techniques are ready for wholesale adoption. They need testing, experimental application and use in connection with other prediction tables that we have developed in our earlier researches (many of which we are now in process of checking against the cases studied in ' Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency '). These latter tables deal not with identifying delinquents but with predicting their responses to various forms of correction (probation, parole, correctional schools, reformatories, prisons, and so on); with the chances of their ultimate reformation, and even with determining the age span during which reformation is likely to occur. Such a network of prediction devices would provide peno-correctional workers, clinicians and others concerned in a

therapeutic plan with clues to the kind of treatment that is most likely to produce effective results.

Professor Glueck and I, who are responsible for the construction of these tables, are seeking opportunities of testing them. We have reason to think that they will stand the rigid test of application to a sample of cases other than those on which they were built, as did a table which we developed some years ago in connection with the volume 'Criminal Careers in Retrospect'.[7] This was a table dealing with the conduct in the Armed Forces of young men who had been delinquents in civilian life. An opportunity presented itself during World War II to apply this prediction table in the case of 200 soldiers who had seriously misconducted themselves in the service and who had been offenders in civilian life. The question posed to us was: 'In what proportion of these particular cases could you have foretold at the time these men were being screened for induction that they were "poor risks" for the Army?' The results[8] were most gratifying: for it was demonstrated that the prediction device in question would have eliminated 85 per cent. of the 200 men as being poor risks for the Army; in another 10 per cent. the chances of satisfactory adjustment in the service were 50 50. In only 5 per cent. of the cases would the prediction device have been in clear error.

There are those who are sceptical about the value of prediction tables on the ground of what to them seems a lack of individualization in diagnosis. The argument put forward by some that 'no two human beings are alike' and that 'such different elements enter into their conduct' that they cannot be 'spotted' with the same series of factors, refuses to recognize that people are far more alike than they are different and that it is upon the elements of resemblance of a particular group (here delinquents) as contrasted with an opposite group (here non-delinquents) that an adequate prediction device is constructed.

Resistance to the use of prediction tables comes also from those who are fearful of the stigma inflicted by labelling a child a pre-delinquent. To counter this, I would like to ask whether, for example, the same argument would be levelled against any attempt to discover early in life those children who are prone to poliomyelitis? Suppose, for example, such a test were available and suppose a serum were developed and applied, would not this be accepted as a great boon? This would be true prevention; and the early discovery of *proneness* to poliomyelitis could not be regarded as a stigma. However, if there are those who would object to the labelling of a child as a pre-delinquent, surely they would have no objection to determining

[7] Commonwealth Fund, 1943.
[8] *Journal of Mental Hygiene*, **28**, No. 3, July, 1944.

whether a youngster who is already showing some signs of maladapted behaviour is really headed for a criminal career unless early and suitable therapy is undertaken. If anything, it would seem obvious that the early recognition and treatment of a condition (providing, of course, that suitable treatment is available) opens the way for earlier ' individualized ' treatment than has heretofore been possible.

A prediction table is not to be applied mechanically and as a *substitute* for clinical judgment. It should, however, aid the clinician in his task of individualization. It is meant to help him see the individual in the perspective of organized experience with hundreds of other boys who in many crucial respects resemble the boy before him. If this method is used properly, it will enable us to cope more adequately with the root-causes of delinquent behaviour than has thus far been possible and to apply the kind of therapy that is most suitable to the individual case. We shall, it is true, miss some potential delinquents and label as delinquents some non-delinquents. But we should be able to spot 85 per cent. of potential criminals. Here on our doorstep are these 85 out of every 100 youngsters who are headed for criminal careers. Their existence is a challenge to our preventive skill.

. . . . the social scientist, unlike his colleague in physical or chemical research, cannot shut himself in an ivory laboratory. He is dependent on the co-operation of the public for his data; he is no less dependent on such co-operation for controlled observations by which to test his hypotheses; and, above all, he cannot deliver the goods to a public which neither knows, nor wishes to learn, how to use them, whilst too often he is powerless to demonstrate their usefulness himself. The criminologist, for instance, is not only at the mercy of the courts and penal institutions (and the criminals themselves) for the supply of his material and for opportunity to check his observations: his results must remain secret unless he can find a court willing to act upon them; whereas the engineer can at least build and operate a demonstration model. The relationship between the scientist and society is thus never so reliable or so agreeably circular in the social, as in the natural, sciences. The more we believe in the natural scientist, the more fruitful is his work; and the more fruitful his work, the more confident is our belief. In the social sciences this virtuous circle is liable to break in half.

The social sciences are, therefore, peculiarly dependent on recognition by the public at large (including of course statesmen and others upon whom rests the responsibility for actual decisions) of the possibility of a scientific approach to human problems.

BARBARA WOOTTON: ' Testament for Social Science '.
(London: Allen and Unwin, 1950, p. 48.)

PROBATION AS A RESEARCH FIELD

A Pilot Survey [1]

By M. GRÜNHUT (Oxford)

In present-day criminology interest has moved from the causation of crime to the effects of treatment. We now want to know how various types of offender respond to different forms of penal and corrective treatment. For such treatment research probation offers an excellent field of observation. Probation is ' treatment in the open '. Unlike prison it has no inherent detrimental effects which exhaust the constructive efforts even of the best social worker. It comprises a number of variants like plain probation, residential control, mental treatment; and each of these rubrics covers a further variation in approach and personal relationship. The best method of extending treatment research to the field of probation would be to begin with one or two years' intake of fresh court cases. Probation officers or other field workers should investigate and put on record relevant facts according to a prearranged scheme, and follow the probationers' careers through the probation period, during any subsequent institutional treatment, and for a certain post-treatment period. For the design of such a comprehensive research project it is advisable to examine the evidence available at present and take into account what we have already learnt from more than forty years of probation work in this country.

The principal source of information is the experience of probation officers. Day by day they give evidence before the courts regarding the social history not only of new cases but also of former probationers who have been convicted of fresh offences. In order to make use of this experience, 200 case studies of former probationers were collected from forty-nine probation officers in twenty-five probation areas, and analysed in terms of their successful or unsuccessful adjustment after the probation period.

The case studies were collected from a wide geographical range, from Yorkshire to Surrey, and from Southend-on-Sea to Cardiff, including rural areas like Oxfordshire, industrial centres such as Sheffield, Liverpool and Birmingham and the large urban centres of London and Middlesex. The majority, 104 case studies, was obtained from probation officers whose names

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had been given by principal and senior probation officers as experienced social workers able and willing to co-operate in this research scheme. Two form-sheets, one relating to the probationer's personal conditions and career, the other to the circumstances and effect of his treatment, were drafted by a study group of research workers and social workers and discussed at a meeting of principal probation officers arranged by the Probation Branch of the Home Office. Detailed instructions were supplied with the two form-sheets; and in the phrasing of the rubrics and questions every effort was made to direct the probation officer's attention to the facts from which his or her conclusions were drawn. At the same time they were encouraged not to abstain from personal judgments, whenever the latter were possible and necessary, provided always reference were made to the relevant facts. Subject to these directions they were asked to send in case studies of former probationers of whose lives and whereabouts they had some personal knowledge at least two years after the termination of the probation period. They were asked to select cases, the outcome of which, as judged by the post-probation period, they regarded either as a success or as a failure.

In response to this request, 104 case histories were returned, of which 65 (62·5 per cent.) were marked as successes and 39 (37·5 per cent.) as failures. The large majority of these records were elaborate case studies. However, even for the modest purposes of this Pilot Survey, a total of 104 cases was not sufficient. Therefore a further 96 case studies, selected on the same lines, were collected by an Oxford research worker who visited six probation offices and compiled the case histories from a study of the files and from personal interviews with the probation officers concerned. As had been expected from general experience and from talks with probation officers, the group of 200 probationers is not representative of probation as a whole. While local differences may have been levelled out by the wide spread of the investigation, the selection is biased by the probation officer's chance to know something of the further destiny of former probationers. The most desirable, if not typical, cases of first offenders who are silently and unobtrusively absorbed in normal social life, are lacking. Instead, the group consists of two extreme types, the spectacular success with a lasting link of gratitude and personal confidence with the probation officer, and the 'flagrant failure', often on his way to an Approved School, Borstal and prison. In short the 200 probationers are typical of offenders whose after-histories are known to probation officers.

Of the total number, 119 were male and 81 female. This is an unusually high proportion of women, viz. two out of every five probationers compared with only one woman out of every five offenders put on probation in England and Wales during the years 1948 to 1951. Of the 49 probation officers who

contributed to the collection of cases, 29 were men. At the same time, the case-load of the women officers was, as usual, smaller. Thirteen out of 19 men, as compared with only 2 out of 9 women, had more than 60 probationers under their supervision. There seems to be a greater chance for a girl than for a boy to remain in contact with the probation officer, and to keep in fairly close touch with the latter in good as well as in bad times. Almost half of the whole group (99) were boys under Juvenile Court jurisdiction; 83 per cent. of the male offenders and 48 per cent. of the female offenders were under seventeen at the time of the first known delinquency.

With regard to intellectual ability, relevant information was available in 178 cases, either in terms of I.Q. or in the form of a general assessment. This scanty evidence allows only a preliminary impression. Of the 178 cases, 100 were of average, 19 of superior and 59 of inferior intelligence. This distribution of intellectual abilities compares favourably with that reported in Sir Cyril Burt's standard investigation of delinquent boys and girls. While among the latter only 2·5 per cent. were of superior intelligence (1, p. 295), the probationers of this investigation show a proportion of 10·7 per cent. of superior intelligence, and thus resemble the group of young probationers investigated in war-time Cambridge by Dr. Mannheim, who found 11 per cent. with an intelligence above normal (2, p. 46).

A high proportion of the probationers came from ' broken homes '. If the concept of a broken home is used in the technical sense, comprising orphans, semi-orphans, illegitimate children and children whose parents are separated or divorced, 87 (43·5 per cent.) of the probationers, came from such incomplete families. This finding is lower than that of Sir Cyril Burt, whose group of young delinquents included 57·9 per cent. from broken homes, as compared with 25·7 per cent. from the non-delinquent control group (1, p. 53), and higher than the figures given for unmarried probationers at Coventry where 33 per cent. came from broken homes (3, p. 113), or, again, the figures of the London School of Economics Survey, according to which 25·6 per cent. of the London delinquents and 31·5 per cent. of the delinquents from provincial towns came from broken homes (4, p. 62). The closest correspondence is with a group investigated by the Cambridge Child Guidance Clinic, where 43 per cent. of the delinquents and 12·7 per cent. of the non-delinquents had an incomplete home background (5, p. 61; 6, p. 83). In the present survey the high incidence of broken homes is due to a great number of illegitimates. Out of 87 probationers from broken homes 20 (10 per cent. of the whole group) were illegitimate. In the L.S.E. investigation, only 3·7 per cent. of the London delinquents and 5·1 per cent. of their contemporaries in provincial towns were illegitimate (4, p. 97), and even among Sir Cyril Burt's cases the figure is no more than 7·6 per cent. (1,

p. 53). Among probationers in an industrial town in the North Midlands the incidence of illegitimates has been given as 4·9 per cent. only. Dr. Mannheim found nearly 10 per cent. of illegitimates among Cambridge probationers in war-time (2, p. 26). The high incidence of illegitimacy in the present survey must, at least partly, be explained by the observer's bias. Most of the illegitimates have been assessed as successful. It may be that these persons with their own typical problems are more frequently than others susceptible to the probation officer's helpful influence, and therefore more likely to remain in contact with him beyond the probation period.

Any evaluation of the data revealed by the 200 case studies requires an assessment of the individual cases in terms of success and failure. In this context success and failure are meant to express respectively a satisfactory or unsatisfactory social adjustment during a certain time after the conclusion of probation. In this specific sense, success and failure have been assessed on the basis of personal judgment and objective facts. On the objective side the most relevant facts are absence of reconviction or reappearance before the court. However, certain cases, without any further court appearance but with no visible change in their undesirable attitudes and modes of life, could be regarded as ' technical successes ' only. Others showed, even in the absence of further known offences, such deterioration that from a social and psychological point of view their careers amount to a failure. Breach of probation or the revocation of a licence from an Approved School indicate a failure in social adjustment even without the commission of a criminal offence. Girls may abstain from further dishonesty but drift into an immoral life, associate with companions of ill-repute, frequently change work or lodgings, and thus become more and more isolated from decent associates of their own age; three cases, where such circumstances were borne out by factual evidence, had to be classified as failures. At the same time, even a court appearance for a fresh offence does not in all circumstances exclude the recognition of a successful adjustment. This applied to two cases where the probation officers expressed a strong opinion about the offender's real progress in spite of further court appearances.

In making any assessment of success and failure in social adjustment, regard must be paid to the time-factor. Attaining social maturity, overcoming criminal tendencies, adjusting oneself to one's station in life, are psychological processes which require some time. It would be unrealistic to isolate a particular offence and to search for its direct cause, or to concentrate on a particular punishment and ask for its immediate effect. Any investigation must be planned with a view to covering a certain period, and the outcome depends on the length of time under review. An offender who, within a specified period, has not been brought before the court, may in the

end turn out to be a failure, while an early relapse will not exclude a final success. As a working hypothesis it has been assumed that persons for whom at least two years after the termination of treatment no symptoms of maladjustment were on record could be regarded as early successes. Correspondingly, those with a bad record within the first two years after their penal and corrective treatment have been assessed as early failures. There are, further, cases with a long history of criminal offences and repeated experiences of penal and corrective treatment. Some of these show a definite improvement, manifested over a period of at least two years without further recidivism. This sub-group has been classified as late successes. The rest must be regarded as late failures. On the basis of this differentiation the group of 200 has been classified as follows: 71 cases were immediate successes. Out of the 129 who were not immediate successes, 21 were early failures, regarding whom no further information was available, while the other 108 had long histories of offences and treatment. Out of this latter sub-group of 108, 61 were late successes and the remaining 47 were late failures. The discussion which follows is mainly concerned with the 71 early and 61 late successes, and with the 21 early and 47 late failures. The general success-rate of the whole unselected group is therefore 66 per cent.

PERSONAL FACTORS

The group of 200 case studies is not representative enough for a calculation of success-rates in particular age-groups. However, the impression prevails that girls of school-leaving age have a good chance of success. Among the total of 81 girls and women in the whole group, 38 (46·9 per cent.) have been classified as early successes, but among the 15 girls who began their delinquency when they were between fourteen and seventeen years of age, 10 were early successes. They all seemed weak and easily led characters. In two cases a good parental home strengthened the probation officer's beneficial influence. The other 8 had been affected by bad environmental conditions, and their social adjustment was due mainly to a change of environment. More congenial work was found for them, or work at a distant place, away from the undesirable parental home; one girl became engaged and 4 married. At the opposite end of the scale, 2 girls of the same age-group proved late failures because they were too unstable for any lasting success. One, with excellent records in domestic work, twice walked out of a shelter; the other, daughter of a mentally defective father, drifted into prostitution and pregnancy, and abandoned the child.

The distribution of intellectual abilities among successes and failures shows a predominance of low intelligence among those who failed. In 178 cases relevant information was available, and out of these, 60, or slightly

more than one-third, were failures. Of those with superior intelligence, only slightly more than one-quarter contributed to the failure group, while of those with inferior intelligence nearly every second was a failure. If, however, the investigation is restricted to the extreme cases of immediate successes and late failures, the difference in the distribution of high and low intelligence appears almost negligible; out of 12 probationers with high intelligence, 7 were early successes and 5 late failures; and out of the 32 with low intelligence, 18 were early successes and 14 late failures.

General experience suggests that character traits and emotional reactions play a larger part in the causation of delinquency than do intellectual factors. According to Sir Cyril Burt, juvenile delinquents differ more markedly from non-delinquents in what he calls ' emotional inborn instincts ' than in intellectual abilities (1, p. 53, Table III). It would be interesting to find out how far character traits, as compared with intelligence, are correlated with the social adjustment of former probationers. For this purpose an attempt was made to assess certain types of emotional reactions on the basis of the probation officer's observations and the facts revealed by the case studies. Those who had proved faithful, alert or disciplined, were regarded as ' desirable ' characters, and those who were unreliable, indifferent or unbalanced as ' undesirable '. As one might expect from a group of delinquents, the majority showed signs of being unreliable, indifferent or unbalanced. Out of 178 cases about whom relevant information was available, 43 were assessed as ' desirable ' and 135 as ' undesirable '. On the positive side ' desirable ' reactions seem to indicate a good prospect of social adjustment. Of the 43 cases with ' desirable ' reactions, only 3 proved unsuccessful. One was a boy of fourteen, handicapped by a bad environment; he had a poor home, both parents drank, his father was indifferent to him, the mother neglectful; three out of six brothers and sisters had been before the courts. As for the second case, no outlet had been found for his energies and his mechanical interests (he stole an electric motor); he was clinging to old companions, and unruly at home. The third case was a girl of nineteen of inferior intelligence, who got on well with others as long as she stayed in the Hostel, but seemed still unsettled, walked out of the Shelter, and at twenty-one was in prison for her third offence. At the same time, of the 19 cases with high intelligence, 5 were failures, all of them with ' undesirable ' reactions. On the negative side, ' undesirable ' reactions appear on the whole to be slightly less symptomatic of failure than does low intelligence. While out of a total of 178 cases whose intellectual and emotional characteristics were known, approximately one-third were failures, out of the 59 probationers with low intelligence, whatever their emotional reactions, 28 (47·4 per cent.) were failures; and out of 135 cases with ' undesirable ' reactions, whatever their intelligence,

57 (42·2 per cent.) proved failures. While all those 9 fortunate types who combined high intelligence with ' desirable ' reactions were successful, those less fortunate ones with inferior intelligence and ' undesirable ' reactions were almost equally divided into 27 successes and 26 failures. The rate of unsuccessful cases among probationers of low intelligence does not differ much, whether the group is limited to those with ' undesirable ' reactions or comprises all cases of low intelligence whatever their emotional reactions.

It is not surprising that probationers who have given proof of their reliability, alertness and self-control should have a bright prospect of successful social adjustment. What calls for an explanation is that of probationers known to be unreliable, indifferent or unbalanced, in the end more than one out of two seems to make good. To a certain extent the result may have been influenced by the fact that it is obviously easy to detect ' undesirable ' reactions in people who have offended against the law and that the great number of 135 cases with alleged undesirable reactions is spread into the group of early and late successes. However, with this reservation, it is fair to assume that probation has a chance with these less amiable people, especially with those of tolerable intelligence—but by no means exclusively so. The variety of human relationships which characterizes probation makes it almost impossible to classify the 27 cases of probationers who succeeded in spite of low intelligence and ' undesirable ' character traits. What a broad survey of these case studies reveals is rather an illustration of the manifold approach and high degree of individualization in probation.

In 5 cases the success was more or less a technical one. In 9 cases probation provided an opportunity for a successful personal effort from without. A boy of eleven, helped by membership of a church choir and Scouts, fought hard against a poor home background; another, whose mother was a mental defective and whose father was not very keen to return from the forces, seemed to be kept straight by his own good work when he came back from the army. A young woman of twenty, who stole a small amount of money from her mother, responded well to mental treatment. A boy of eight, son of an illiterate, quarrelsome mother, gained confidence in a special class. Another boy of the same age, from a very bad home, with all his five brothers and sisters in trouble, owed his improvement to the probation officer's special personal interest. For a boy of fourteen, the probation office seemed the only refuge from the undesirable conditions of his stepfather's home. In 5 cases, residential control, with its closer supervision in a hostel, Training Home or Mother-and-Baby Home, exerted at least a temporary steadying influence. In 2 cases, former probationers continued voluntarily to seek the probation officer's advice after the termination of the probation period.

In other cases, the decisive factor was a change of environment. In 3 cases, a new job, or a more suitable type of occupation, could be found. Others benefited from a newly established family life, or under the influence of a good husband. A woman of thirty-seven was kept straight by her love for her second illegitimate child, while the probation officer continued contact with her and with her employer.

Finally, the process of gaining maturity should not be overlooked. A domestic worker began to keep her jobs when she was sixteen, continuing to pay visits to the probation officer; a boy who began to steal at fourteen, and after his term at an Approved School was twice put on probation, in the end settled down at the age of twenty-three.

SOCIAL FACTORS

Among the environmental factors, the influence of economic conditions seems to be more notable on the positive than on the negative side. Out of 129 cases about whom relevant information was available, 85 (65·8 per cent.) proved successful. Out of 32 probationers who lived in comfortable economic conditions 28 (87·5 per cent.) were successful, while the percentages of successful cases among those from fair and poor homes respectively were 58·4 per cent. and 58·9 per cent. There was no difference among the three sub-groups with regard to early and late successes and failures. The deviation from the mean is therefore + 21·7 for the successful living in comfortable conditions, but only — 6·9 for those from poor homes.

The family is the most important factor as a cause of delinquency as well as for the prospects of social adjustment. Out of 154 minors in the whole group, 76, or almost every second, came from a broken home. However, the minors from complete families and from broken homes contributed at almost the same rate to success and failure; out of the 78 young probationers from complete families, 53 were successful and 25 failed; and out of the 76 from broken homes, 54 were successful and 22 failed. If one breaks up the figures into early and late successes and failures, again no difference occurs in the distribution of cases within the relevant sub-groups. This finding confirms the result of E. W. Hughes with regard to later careers of former probationers at Coventry (3, p. 113). Only among the smaller number of adults about whom relevant information is available does there appear to be a slight preponderance of broken homes among the failures. While out of 11 adult probationers from complete families, 8 were successful and only 3 failures, out of the 12 adults from broken homes, only 2 were successful and 10 failed. Among these, 8 have been classified as late failures. The reason may be that the adults form a sub-group where

criminal activities begin at, or extend into, a later age, so that, by the fact of this grouping, a great number have to be classified as failures. Even so, the question suggests itself whether their adult criminality has something to do with the fact that they have been brought up in broken homes or had left the family home because it had been broken. Only a psychological examination of the individual offenders could provide the answer. Failing this, a brief analysis of the case studies may suggest some explanation. The cases divide themselves into two groups. There are 5 cases where the personalities of the offenders proved a strong obstacle to readjustment, although it cannot be said from the case histories alone whether this is due to unfortunate family conditions in the offenders' childhood. The 3 women, 1 an orphan and 2 illegitimate, were lacking in response and co-operation as they were unstable in their marital and sexual life. Of the 2 men, 1 (an illegitimate child) spent the better part of his adult life in prison, which seemed the only place where he could work and behave satisfactorily, while the other, a semi-orphan, alternating between larceny and indecent exposure, was sentenced as an 'incorrigible rogue'. In the following 5 cases, there are indications of a link between experience in childhood and lack of response and criminal tendencies at a later age. In the case of a girl, brought up by her indulgent grandmother because her parents had separated, even a psychiatrist could not suggest any helpful treatment for her erratic and unresponsive personality. An orphan's foster-mother married again after her husband's death, and then after her death the second husband married again; when the boy, who had withstood all these changes, came back from the army he began a career of house-breaking. Another orphan appeared to be 'institutionalized', was known as a trouble-maker and was always exhibiting social grievances. An illegitimate girl with an unhappy childhood, divorced after her first marriage, had to go to prison after a series of offences; the only bright prospect is that she may turn over a new leaf in the good family of her second husband. A woman who was the mistress of her employer had two illegitimate sons whom she neglected; both were criminal. One of them started at the age of sixteen with larceny and ended as a murderer. These cases illustrate conditions within, or brought about by, broken homes, which were so unfavourable for the character development of young people that criminal activities in later life could not be overcome by the constructive forces of probation.

The last observation suggests that a 'broken home' covers a variety of personal situations according to the reasons why the family is incomplete, and differing in their impact on a child's criminal career. If one differentiates between orphans, semi-orphans, illegitimate children and children of separated and divorced parents, the striking deviation from the mean

relates to semi-orphans. Of 40 semi-orphans under twenty-one, 32 proved successful. While the success-rate of minors both from complete and incomplete families was 2 : 1 the success-rate of the semi-orphans was 4 : 1. At first glance this seems to belie the assumption of step-father and step-mother complexes, or else to suggest that probation officers are exceedingly successful in overcoming difficult step-parent situations. Not all semi-orphans live in a step-father or step-mother family. Semi-orphans, like other children from broken homes, viz. orphans, illegitimate children, and children of divorced or separated parents, have a status of their own which produces some typical psychological effects. The status alone, however, does not imply anything about the way the child is brought up—whether he lives with his parents, or with one parent and one step-parent, or with one parent alone, with relatives or other foster-parents or in an institution. Of the 40 semi-orphans under twenty-one, only 17 lived in a family with a surviving parent and a step-parent; half the total (20) lived with their surviving fathers or mothers alone, and of the remaining 3, 2 were staying with relations and one in lodgings. At the same time, 10 other minors, owing to illegitimacy or parental separation, lived in families with only one of their own parents. It seems probable that the way young people are brought up is more significant than their family status. There is no relevant difference in the success-rates of semi-orphans and other children living in families with only one of their own parents; 14 out of 17 semi-orphans and 8 out of 10 other children, brought up in the same circumstances, proved successful. There seems to be a slight preponderance of success among 8 out of 9 children living with their fathers and step-mothers as against 13 out of 17 children living with their step-fathers and their own mothers. Again it would be sheer speculation to say that this result belies the proverbial prejudice against the ' bad step-mother ', or that fathers are more successful in protecting their children against a malevolent step-parent than are mothers. An analysis of those eight successful cases shows that only in 2 cases did the step-mother's home prove to be a good family background. In the other 6 cases successful readjustment was achieved in spite of unsatisfactory conditions in the step-mother's home; the decisive factors appeared to be the offender's personal response to probation, an intelligent boy's association with companions of his own type outside the home, and the effect of Child Guidance and a temporary stay in a hostel; in the 3 other cases the probationer left the place altogether.

For the causation of juvenile delinquency, the personal atmosphere in the family home is more important than the fact that the family is outwardly complete or incomplete. The authors of ' Young Offenders ' (1942) have shown that juvenile delinquents differ from non-delinquents according

to the incidence of a disturbed home atmosphere, rather than to the proportion of broken homes (4, pp. 67–72).

In order to find out how far personal relationships within the family affect the prospects of social adjustment, one has to leave out all those who have been brought up with relatives, or in a foster-home or in institutions. There remains a sub-group of 101 minors, 75 of whom came from a complete natural family, and 26 from a family with one step-parent. The prospects of this sub-group were slightly brighter than those of the whole group; it had 71·2 per cent. successes as compared with 66 per cent. for the whole group of 200 offenders. Among the 101 minors from complete or step-parent familes, out of 35 with no defects in personal relationships all but 3, who were under the pressure of strong adverse forces, proved successful, while out of 66 with unsatisfactory personal relationships 40 (60 per cent.) were successful. It makes no difference whether the wholesome influence of unimpaired harmonious relationships is exerted in a natural family or in a family with one step-parent; in the former case 25 out of 28, in the latter all 7 cases on record, proved successful. The figures for success in spite of unsatisfactory personal relationships seem to be more favourable for the step-children; only 26 out of 47 offenders from complete families succeeded in the face of adverse personal relationships, whereas 14 out of 19 step-children in similar circumstances proved successful. An analysis of the case studies suggests two reasons for the unexpectedly bright prospects of step-children with unsatisfactory family relationships. First, the type of unfavourable personal relationships among the unsuccessful children from complete families differs from the step-children's difficulties. There occur sometimes genuine conflicts in complete natural families, where a boy suffers from a feeling of lack of parental affection, or where the offender's criminal activities cause, or increase, personal estrangement; a delinquent girl becomes 'the black sheep', or parents are 'finished with' the boy. But in 13 out of 21 cases the fault lay in the home discipline; the father was too harsh, or too weak, or too old or had no judgment about his son even after seven court appearances, or the mother was over-indulgent, unable to manage a pugnacious boy or to control a girl's sexual maladjustment. Secondly, it is easier to remove a step-child from the scene of personal friction than to separate a child from a home where the prospects are not too good, but where he lives with his father and mother and perhaps brothers and sisters. Among the 14 successful probationers from step-families with unfavourable relationships, 6 adjusted themselves to a new environment, and in 4 other cases a good personal response to the probation officer seemed to make up for the adverse home background. Among the 21 unsuccessful cases from complete natural families with unsatisfactory personal relationships, there

was little chance for the probationer to improve, yet he could not, or would not, be separated from his natural family; parents refused their consent to a boy's stay in a residential Special School, or took him home from a Disabled Training Home; or foster-parents, after a further offence, returned the boy to his parents.

It has been confirmed by the recent investigations of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck that ' criminal activities among members of the family ' is a characteristic factor in juvenile delinquency (7, p. 110). In the present survey, among 101 probationers under twenty-one, brought up in their own families or in a ' step-family ', there were 46 cases in which at least one member of the family was delinquent or otherwise socially maladjusted. However, the evidence available does not suggest any notable influence of criminal activities in the family on the success or failure of probation. Out of 46 probationers from delinquent families 32 proved successful, while out of 55 probationers from non-delinquent families, 40 proved successful. Nor does delinquency in the family necessarily coincide with bad personal relationships; out of 46 delinquent families, 31 had bad family relationships, and out of 55 non-delinquent families, 35 were unsatisfactory in their personal inter-relationships. The bright prospect of children from harmonious homes seems not impeded by the presence of delinquents in such homes. All 15 minors with no fault in their family relationships, but with delinquency in the family, succeeded; with the exception of a girl of nineteen who began stealing at fourteen, under the influence of her delinquent brother, at a time when her father was in the army, her mother was working in spite of poor health, and certain coloured lodgers did nothing to improve the atmosphere of the house.

Next to family circumstances, work is assumed to be the strongest factor, significant both as a possible cause of delinquency and a help or impediment to successful readjustment. The significance of the probationer's work habits for his later career raises two questions. The first is whether the good worker has a better prospect of successful adjustment after a period of probation. As far as prisoners and pupils of Approved Schools are concerned, conclusions drawn from their work records under the artificial conditions of institutional life are doubtful. The probationer, however, works during and after the probation period under the conditions of normal social life. Out of the group of 200 offenders, evidence of their work habits at any one time was available for 97 persons in paid employment. They were assessed on a seven-score scale from -3 to $+3$, according to quality of work, time-keeping and steadiness in keeping their jobs. A sub-group of 22 scored $+2$ or $+3$ and a sub-group of 18 scored -2 or -3. If one compares these two extreme groups, among the good workers 17 were

successful, and 5 unsuccessful, while among the bad workers only 5 were successful and 13 unsuccessful. All 5 successful bad workers were late successes while the majority of 10 of the 17 successful good workers were early successes. Thus even the limited evidence available confirms the close connection between work habits and the prospects of social adjustment. There is but little evidence with regard to work other than paid employment. Among 6 housewives, 4 were good workers with only 1 failure among them, while of the 2 bad workers, 1 turned out to be an early success. The one unsuccessful probationer, in spite of her good work in her house and with her four children, lived in great poverty and had been deserted by her husband and the father of her illegitimate child. The bad housewife, with a dirty, untidy house in a village housing estate, gossiping with undesirable friends, bored with her husband's preaching as a 'Jehovah's Witness', avoided further stealing without any positive achievement. Only more comprehensive evidence could show whether good work in house and kitchen implies a fair prospect of social adjustment. It may be different with school-work. Among 11 pupils of whom relevant information was forthcoming, 2 notably good pupils were late successes, while all 6 bad pupils succeeded, 5 of them even as early successes. Of the 2 extreme cases who scored — 3, and yet were early successes, one benefited from the probation officer's special personal effort in the face of exceedingly bad home conditions with all six children in trouble; and the other one settled down well when his unmarried mother was able to care for him.

The second question is whether changes in work habits, either for good or evil, go hand in hand with success or failure in social adjustment. The sample group has 38 cases, not included in the preceding enumeration, of whom there is information about work habits both before and after the probation period. Only in 3 cases do the case histories reveal a change for the worse; in all other 35 cases work habits improved, in 17 out of the 35 in respect of both quality of work and time-keeping. Obviously, probation officers were glad to notice and to put on record any visible improvement. Even so, it is significant that all but 2 of the 35 probationers with improved work habits were successes, while only one of the 3 with deteriorating work habits was successful. The 2 failures among the probationers with improving work habits were a man of twenty-eight who was not strong enough to master the difficulties of life, to find work and shelter and to care for his wife and child; and a girl of fifteen who, after training in a Home, was good in residential domestic work, but had a strong handicap in her neglectful mother, a borderline mental defective. The probationer who succeeded in spite of worsening work habits had by no means settled down. This was a boy of thirteen whose parents were divorced; the father, a brutal drinker,

took the boy from the institution where he had been brought up. The boy had a resentment against authority, but avoided further court appearances after a second period of probation. It will be an urgent object of further research to put on record regular ' progress reports ' of the probationers' work habits and to correlate them with the offenders' final adjustment.

CONCLUSIONS

The main impression gained from an analysis of 200 case studies of former probationers is that of the infinite variety of human destiny which defies statistical evaluation. The offenders' personal conditions, the probation officers' approach, the probationers' response and the further course of their lives comprise so many variables that any attempt at grouping and sub-grouping relevant data involves an element of chance, if not of arbitrary assessment. With these reservations, however, some facts stand out as the result of the pilot survey. If they are no new discoveries, they at least confirm what may have been expected from general experience.

The case studies show once more that psychological conditions are more important than external circumstances. In the light of the probationer's subsequent social adjustment, being brought up in a step-parent's family is more relevant than being a semi-orphan, and enjoying good family relationships more significant than whether this happens in a complete natural family or in a step-parent family. The most formidable impediment to successful probation seems to be bad work habits. The failure of the bad workers (73 per cent.) exceeds the failure rate of the whole group (34 per cent.) more conspicuously than the success rate of the good workers (77 per cent.) deviates from the general success rate (66 per cent.). With regard to natural endowment, economic situation and family atmosphere, however, good conditions are more notably related to a high success rate than are bad conditions to a spectacular proportion of failures. Step-children from homes with an unsatisfactory atmosphere have an even more than average success rate. This observation suggests the sphere in which, in the face of general crime-producing factors, the influence of probation must be sought. In some cases it is the psychological effect of a new relation of trust and affection on persons who have yielded to the pressure of emotional stress and other inner conflicts. In other cases it is a change of residence, work or companionship wisely used or encouraged on the basis of a considerate understanding of the probationer's difficulties. This explains a fact observed in the course of this survey: that probation can help illegitimate children or young people living with step-parents or in foster-families, even against heavy handicaps, while it is much more difficult to intervene in the personal relationships of a natural family, or to remove a child from unsatisfactory

conditions in the family home. Probation has rightly been praised for leaving the offender within his natural surroundings. The present case studies qualify this view. It is the possibility, within the wider framework of normal social surroundings, of making use of a change in the offender's unfavourable environmental conditions and of encouraging and promoting such changes, which makes probation a valuable method of achieving the offender's social adjustment.

For a comprehensive survey based on fresh cases, the following suggestions are made:

(1) The many variable factors in case studies of probationers make it necessary to plan for a large number of cases. If only a limited number of probation areas are available, investigation must be based on the intake of several years.

(2) It is advisable to restrict the follow-up studies to those who have been put on probation for the first time. This gives an opportunity for collecting evidence from the date of the first known delinquency. In the course of the follow-up studies relapses into crime and repeated probation orders will occur and become the object of relevant investigation. To include cases with a previous history of crimes and penal or corrective treatment would mean that their past careers must be reconstructed by resort to records and accidental recollections.

(3) A working party of psychologists and social workers should devise a uniform system of examination of the probationer's mental equipment, scholastic attainments and character traits which should be both feasible in present circumstances and reliable for scientific purposes. Different schemes are probably necessary for juveniles, adolescents and adults.

(4) The regular investigations and entries in the records during the follow-up period should not only refer to the probationer's personal conditions and social adjustment (attitudes and interests, family life, work habits, spare-time activities, companionship), but also to specific features of treatment ('firm hand' or trust and responsibility, routine visits or strong personal relationship, mere supervision or co-operation in a new plan for life and work, influencing the probationer's relations to his family or providing a change of environment).

(5) Once a year, field workers should send a copy of their records to a research centre where the progress of the investigation would be checked and yearly Interim Reports prepared.

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'In the following chapter I will give a few examples of the way in which what we should call misfortune, hardship, or disease are dealt with by the Erewhonians, but for the moment will return to their treatment of cases that with us are criminal. As I have already said, these, though not judicially punishable, are recognized as requiring correction. Accordingly, there exists a class of men trained in soul-craft, whom they call straighteners, as nearly as I can translate a word which literally means "one who bends back the crooked". These men practise much as medical men in England, and receive a quasi-surreptitious fee on every visit. They are treated with the same unreserve, and obeyed as readily, as our own doctors—that is to say, on the whole sufficiently—because people know that it is their interest to get well as soon as they can, and that they will not be scouted as they would be if their bodies were out of order, even though they may have to undergo a very painful course of treatment.'

SAMUEL BUTLER: 'Erewhon'.

THE EMPLOYMENT HISTORY OF APPROVED SCHOOL BOYS[1]

By B. R. GREEN and D. RUSSELL DAVIS (CAMBRIDGE)

INTRODUCTION

It has often been pointed out that juvenile delinquents show deficiencies other than those directly responsible for their appearance before the courts. Thus they tend to lack occupational skill and to change jobs frequently. It might be argued that these tendencies have a social importance comparable in gravity with, although different in their consequence from the offences themselves. At any rate it seemed to us worth while to enquire more closely into the employment history of delinquents. Accordingly we have compared the employment history of a sample of approved school boys with that of their normal contemporaries and have demonstrated in the manner described below—that they tended to be employed at a lower level of skill. Our data did not allow the consideration of the number of jobs.

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

A test group of juvenile delinquents was compared with a control group of normal boys.

The test group consisted of the boys who left the Redbank (Approved) School in the years 1944, 1945 and 1946. They had been sent to the school at ages varying from thirteen to fifteen years and had been there for periods of from eighteen months to three years. When they left the school they were under the supervision of a Welfare Officer for the remainder of a six-year period starting from their arrival at the school. Our data were drawn from the records available at the school and covered the first three years of supervision.

There were 159 cases. Three boys died during the three-year period and were omitted from the study, as were a further four whose ages were not recorded. At the end of the three-year period, seventy of the remainder were in civil life and eighty-two were in the Forces.

[1] Our thanks are due to the many who gave us help or provided facilities; especially to Mr. J. Vardy, Headmaster of Redbank School, and his staff, and to Mr. L. Moss, Director of the Social Survey branch of the Central Office of Information, Mr. L. T. Wilkins and other members of the staff and to members of the London Probation Service. The work of one of us (B. R. G.) was made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

The investigation was intended as a preliminary to a more thorough and detailed study and is published because it now seems unlikely that we shall be able to continue the work.

The control group consisted of (*a*) seventy boys, who were a sample of a much larger number interviewed by the Social Survey branch of the Central Office of Information in their nation-wide survey of adolescents in civil life, and (*b*) eighty-two boys, who were a sample of a much larger number interviewed by the same organization in their study of entrants into the Army and Royal Air Force; there were no similar data for entrants into the Royal Navy.

The two samples forming the control group were selected so as to match the delinquents in respect of *age* (either that of the delinquents at the end of the three-year period of supervision or on entry into the Forces); whether *national service* or *volunteer; branch of the Services* (except that delinquents entering the Navy were matched by controls entering the R.A.F.); and *district*, whenever there was sufficient information to do so, as there was in about half the cases.

The composition of the test and therefore of the control group is shown in Table I.

TABLE I

The Composition of the Groups

Age	*Not in Forces*	*National Service*		*Volunteer*		*Total*
		Army	*RN/RAF*	*Army*	*RN/RAF*	
17	4	1	0	2	3	10
18	12	47	15	8	1	83
19	27	1	1	1	0	30
20	27	1	1	0	0	29
Total	70	50	17	11	4	152

Classification of Employment and Intelligence

The records available for the delinquents gave unsystematic information about their employment, and this fact considerably reduced the value of our data, which nevertheless allowed certain conclusions to be drawn from them. Also it imposed a rough-and-ready classification of employment. This was as follows:

(I) Apprentice, or any other job requiring the same or a greater degree of skill.

(II) Any job requiring skill or training.

(III) Any job not included in (I), (II) or (IV).

(IV) Unskilled job, requiring no training, *e.g.* labourer or office boy.

Assignment of a case to a class was necessarily arbitrary. Probably Class III contained the greatest number of the wrongly classified, since ' miner ', ' factory-worker ' and other inexact descriptions were included in it. Class I and II may be regarded as skilled, Class III as intermediate and undifferentiated and Class IV as unskilled.

Scores on one or other *group* intelligence test were available for all the delinquents and for the Service entrants of the control group. Those for the delinquents had been recorded as I.Q.s and were converted by us into percentiles, on the assumption that the mean I.Q. of a relevant population is 100 and the S.D. 16. The ' Domino ' scores for the Army entrants in the control group were also converted by us into percentiles with the help of information given us by Mr. Wilkins of the Social Survey.

RESULTS

Intelligence was taken into account in making the comparison of the employment of delinquents and normal boys, for delinquents have often been reported as inferior in intelligence, and this might be expected to influence the level of employment. Accordingly, in presenting the results in Table II, both groups have been divided into three grades according to their percentile score on the intelligence test. Scores were available only for the Service entrants in the control group, and for this reason only these and the corresponding delinquents have been included. The employment compared in the two groups was the last one held immediately before entering the Services.

TABLE II

Employment Compared in the Two Groups Subdivided According to Intelligence — Forces Only

Intelligence: Percentile Score	*Group*	*Employment Class*			*Not Employed*	*Total*
		Skilled I—II	*Intermediate III*	*Unskilled IV*		
100–70. .	Control .	7	9	0	3	19
	Test . .	1	5	0	0	6
70–30 . .	Control .	21	11	13	2	47
	Test . .	4	15	4	2	25
30–0 . .	Control .	5	9	2	0	16
	Test . .	6	28	17	0	51
	Total .	44	77	36	7	164

From Table II certain conclusions may be drawn:

(i) The delinquents are markedly inferior to the normals in intelligence, or at any rate in their scores in the intelligence test. It will also be noted that the distribution of scores in the control group is roughly normal and symmetrical, whereas that in the delinquents is markedly skewed, with a disproportionate number of cases in the bottom grade.

(ii) Surprisingly, there is no apparent overall association between intelligence grade and employment either in our control or test group. One may remark, however, upon the considerable number of the test group who are both in the lowest intelligence grade and in unskilled employment.

(iii) The employment of the delinquents is inferior to that of the controls, the difference being similar for all grades of intelligence.

In view of (ii) and (iii) and despite (i) it seems reasonable to compare the groups without reference to intelligence and to include subjects for whom no intelligence test scores were available. This was done in the compilation of Table III. The results here show the inferiority of the delinquents in their employment in a very definite manner.

TABLE III

Employment Compared in the Two Groups—All Subjects—'Last' Job

Group	*Employment Class*				*Not Employed*	*Total*
	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*		
Control	41	22	56	25	8	152
Test .	17 .	11	76	46	2	152
Total .	58	33	132	71	10	304

Calculated by Whitfield's version of Kendall's method, P is found to be less than ·01 for the correlation of group and employment grade.

TABLE IV

Employment Compared in the Two Groups—All Subjects—First Job

Group	*Employment Class*				*Not Employed*	*Total*
	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*		
Control	34	18	64	28	8	152
Test .	15	6	107	22	2	152

$P < \cdot 01$

Table IV shows the distribution in the various classes of the first jobs held after leaving school or approved school. It will be seen that in their first jobs the delinquents had a similar degree of inferiority as in their ' last ' jobs. It is probable that the majority of them were helped to find a job when leaving the approved school, and this may account for the smaller proportion in the unskilled employment class to start with. It will be noted that in the controls there is a slight improvement from the first to the ' last ' employment, but that this is not true of the delinquents.

DISCUSSION

The results show that at all levels of intelligence the delinquents were employed in less skilled jobs than were the controls. It might be thought that this was due to the delinquents' late entry into the labour market. However, the same proportion of unskilled workers was found among boys leaving the Approved School at the usual age of fourteen or fifteen as among the others. Therefore the delinquents' inferiority may be regarded as another symptom of the mental ill-health which their offences reflect. In this connection it is useful to enquire whether there is any association between class of employment and reappearance in Court, for it might be supposed that those poorly adapted in employment would tend to commit further offences. No evidence was found of a direct association of this kind. On the other hand, when the delinquents were reclassified according to whether their class of employment improved, remained the same or declined after their first job (first compared with last), it was found that a smaller proportion of those who improved their employment reappeared in Court, although

TABLE V

Reappearance in Court Related to Change of Employment Level

	'Last' Employment Compared with First			*Not Employed*	*Total*
	Better	*No Change*	*Worse*		
1. Not reappearing in Court .	14	69	26	2	111
2. Reappearing in Court .	1	32	8	0	41
Those of (2) sent to a Borstal or Senior School . .	0	16	4	0	20

12·6 per cent. of those not reappearing in Court improved their employment, compared with 2·4 per cent. of those reappearing. The difference in these proportions is of borderline significance. (Diff./S.E. diff. being 1·9.)

the difference was hardly significant statistically. Thus a rise in the level of skill in a boy's employment was a favourable sign. These results are set out in Table V. Incidentally, those who reappeared in Court tended to have scored less on the intelligence test (Table VI).

TABLE VI

Intelligence Test Score Related to Reappearance or Non-reappearance in Court—Whole of the Test Group

	Percentile Score		
	30 *and above*	*Below* 30	*Total*
Not reappearing . .	44	67	111
Reappearing . . .	8	33	41
Total . . .	52	100	152

A poor performance on an intelligence test is sometimes taken to mean a lack of natural ability which is constitutional or inherited. This is not always a legitimate assumption. Generally, intelligence tests measure the ability to perform a narrow range of academic skills. Only if it can safely be assumed that the conditions for developing the skills concerned in the test were equally favourable for all the individuals to be compared, and that the score on a test represents the maximum to which the skills have been developed, can differences in test score be taken to correspond to differences in natural ability. These assumptions, fraught with uncertainties when normal subjects are compared, cannot be made at all when delinquents are concerned.

At any rate, whether for reasons of inheritance or upbringing, juvenile delinquents tend to lack the skills required by intelligence tests. So, as our results show, they lack occupational skills. It is well known that they tend to be backward educationally. These lacks may be regarded as similar to one another, and again similar to the lack of social skills which is responsible for their failure to make a satisfactory adaptation in society. How they are related to one another has yet to be defined precisely. It is uncertain whether a thorough attempt to teach a delinquent an occupational skill also relieves a lack of social skills. Probably it does, both directly, by giving him the means of earning a livelihood and the prestige of the skilled worker, and indirectly, by what is often called the building of character. An advance in one respect may thus facilitate an advance in others. Thus, too, the means of building character adopted by approved schools, other than vocational training, may also favour a rise in the level of employment.

This was probably the case in several of our test group who went into skilled employment, although they did not use the particular skills which they had learnt in vocational training at the school. But it is possible that a poor level of employment is only the symptom of the disorder responsible for delinquency, and to tackle the problem of employment is to try to relieve the symptom but not the disorder itself. Nevertheless it is well worth doing.

APPENDIX—A PARALLEL STUDY OF PROBATIONERS

A group of thirty boys on probation (test group), under the supervision of various London Probation Officers were interviewed between six and eighteen months after being placed on probation. At the time of interview they were aged sixteen to eighteen years. They were matched with control subjects from the Social Survey data, and their employment was classified as in the Approved School experiment.

The probationers were found to have the same inferiority of employment as the Approved School boys, when compared with their normal contemporaries. It was also found that many of the boys showed a great improvement during probation.

RESULTS

The control and test groups were compared with respect to their job at the time of interview (Table VII).

TABLE VII

Employment Compared in the Two Groups—'Last' Job

Group	*Employment Class*				*Total*
	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	
Control . .	6	5	14	5	30
Test . . .	1	4	22	3	30
Total . .	7	9	36	8	60

It can be seen that the probationers show the same inferiority compared to their control group as was found in the Approved School boys, although in the case of the probationers this result is not statistically significant. When the groups were compared with respect to their first job on leaving school, the difference between the probationers and their controls was found to be significant (Table VIII).

TABLE VIII

Employment Compared in the Two Groups—First Job on Leaving School

Group	*Employment Class*				*Total*
	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	
Control . .	6	5	14	5	30
Test . . .	1	1	16	12	30
Total . .	7	6	30	17	60

$P < \cdot 01$ for the correlation between group and employment class.

These results demonstrate that whereas the control group as a whole remained unchanged, the probationers showed considerable improvement. It was found that this improvement took place during probation rather than in the period between leaving school and being placed on probation, which on average was longer. This can be seen in Table IX.

TABLE IX

Employment of Probationers Compared at Different Times

Time of Holding Job	*Employment Class*				*Total*
	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	
On leaving school .	1	1	16	12	30
When first on probation . .	0	1	21	8	30
At time of interview	1	4	22	3	30

Comparing the employment level of the group at the beginning of probation and at the time of interview P is less than ·02.

CONCLUSION

This experiment confirms the finding of the main study that delinquents tend to be employed at a lower level of skill than normal boys, and it shows that probation helps to diminish this inferiority. This suggests that some delinquents' employment can be improved without the vocational instruction that Approved Schools provide.

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

Next Steps in Research

By A. G. ROSE (Hull)

Much has been said and written in the last few years about the need for more research in the field of crime and delinquency. With varying intensity, according to changes in the incidence of particular types of crime, especially crimes of violence, and to the attention given to the matter by the newspapers, everyone concerned has been admitting his lack of ability to deal adequately with the situation, and calling for research both into prevention and treatment. Hence Section 77 of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948; hence the conference of prominent people held by the Home Office, and the circular sent out to local authorities encouraging them to hold local conferences; hence the Conference of the Scientific Study of Juvenile Delinquency (1). It is surprising, however, out of all this how little has emerged in the form of concrete proposals, and it is to be hoped that the Carnegie Survey now in progress will carry on the work of the Conference in clarifying the issues and bringing them into the realms of practicality. In the meanwhile, opinions upon the state and future of research still need to be debated at length, and the present article is intended to contribute to this debate, by presenting a series of opinions upon various aspects of research, and making some proposals about the possible lines of progress. The opinions and proposals are, of course, the writer's, and the Editors of this Journal bear no responsibility for them.

(1) *Some Theoretical Considerations*

It will be convenient to examine these considerations under several headings.

The Statistical Approach. By this is meant the interpretation of statistics published by authority, and the general application of statistical techniques to criminological data. The mere collection and integration of published statistics is not so important in this country as it is in the U.S. where there are so many different state systems; although it remains important on an international scale. What is more important, so far as British experience is concerned, is the interpretation and improvement of the statistical material available, and the work done by Mannheim (2) upon this needs to be constantly followed up. In many cases, it is not at all clear what the various categories given in tables actually mean, nor is it clear in what way the figures are collected, and how far they are likely to be reliable. Tables, and particular categories in tables, tend to persist in official publications in forms which may possibly have made sense to their originators, but which are now obscure or even nonsensical. (An example of this is 'Degree of Education' in Table XI of the Prison Commissioners' Annual Reports. The categories are very vague, and the statement that in 1949 and in 1950 only one Borstal boy, of some 2,000 received, could 'read and write imperfectly' makes one wonder a little about the method of classification. The table might well be compared with those given by Quetelet on this subject in 1835.)

More important, however, so far as advance in criminological research is concerned, are questions involved in the application of statistical techniques. The implications of statistical devices to social data are easily misunderstood or overlooked, as McNemar points out in relation to opinion and attitude scales (3),

and it would be of great assistance if expert statisticians were to make clear the uses and abuses of these devices with particular reference to criminological data. The mechanical calculation of coefficients of association, critical ratios, standard deviations and the like, can be a source of considerable misunderstanding if their implications are not clearly understood, and the conventional nature of the various levels of significance adopted can also be a source of error. Furthermore, one would like to know rather more about the applications of factor analysis to criminological data. An attempt to apply this technique, although apparently not in its full rigour, has been made by Hart *et al.* (4), and Cattell (5) seems to accept the results, but one cannot help wondering how far the overlapping character of the surface factors affects the determination of real source factors, and what the effect is of mixing qualitative and quantitative data by the use of arbitrary pointing scales. These are, of course, general problems, but an assessment in the light of the type of data available to criminologists would be of considerable assistance.

The Biological-Anthropological Approach. It is not for a non-medical man to attempt to appraise lines of progress in this sphere, although the general lines of advance from Lombroso, the anthropologist, to Healy, the psychologist, emerge clearly enough, from an American point of view, in Fink's work on the subject (6). Cantor (7), in summing up German research of this type in 1936, although he finds no very clearly positive results, does point out the emphasis that this type of approach places upon 'the whole man', and this underlines the fact that statistical fragmentation needs to be supplemented by intercorrelation of factors, and to be interpreted in the light of the total personality. Whatever the implications of the Sheldon form of analysis may be, as descriptive techniques his methods need elaboration and testing, although his own application of them to delinquents does not carry us very much farther forward in this respect (8). This is a pity, for rapid and reliable expression of the total personality in terms of surface traits would be of considerable value in research, and, as Cattell shows (5, pp. 132–7), the tripolar technique can be related fairly easily to the source traits elicited by factor analysis. Sheldon's somatotyping technique has already been used by the Gluecks in their latest work (9), but a follow-up study of these results will be necessary before its usefulness as a diagnostic and classificatory instrument can really be established. It is also not clear how far the Sheldon techniques are superior to informed direct appraisal by experienced men—housemasters in a Borstal for instance—plus the information usually available about delinquents.

The Sociological Approach. By this is meant the relationship between the delinquent, juvenile or adult, and the community in which he lives, not only in the more general sense of the well-known Shaw and McKay studies, but in the sense also of the group and status systems in which he functions. In a study which attempts a slightly closer view, Barker (10) examines a number of areas in Chicago, and points out the considerable differences which exist in the types of delinquents and their families, and he suggests that a closer study of these communities would be illuminating. This would presumably mean a study, using social survey techniques, of the group, class and status systems in highly delinquent areas. Furthermore, while much has been done regarding the individual psychology of delinquents, their social psychology, and especially that of delinquent groups, needs further exploration. The participant observer technique, although very desirable as Haynes points out (11), is particularly difficult to apply, and few have the abilities to do so, amongst whom Whyte (12) and Riemer (13) must be heartily

commended. Non-participant observers such as Hayner and Ash (14), Clemmer (15) and Thrasher (16) who are nevertheless in very close touch with the groups they are examining produce interesting descriptive studies, which, however, tend to suffer from lack of clarity in defining different group situations. The application of social survey and social psychology techniques is as yet largely unattempted, and local projects upon social survey lines, and group projects in individual institutions could uncover much interesting information. It is clear that one of the most difficult problems of social survey work, that of those who 'fail to co-operate', is likely to arise in an aggravated form, but it is not clear how far this might prove an insuperable obstacle. There is no doubt that the individual psychology of the delinquent and its etiology in the family situation is of primary importance but, if this is to be accepted as crowding out group influences almost entirely, then the outlook for prevention is bleak indeed, since the types of preventive devices we have at our disposal are mainly those which can only affect the individual personality indirectly or superficially. Better housing and town planning, more club and playing field facilities, better welfare services are all likely to prevent occasional delinquency, but it is not yet known how far they can affect the delinquent recidivist, and it would be useful to probe deeper into the subject of group formation and the relationship of the delinquent family to the community at large if we are to put into effect adequate preventive measures. Experiments in clubmaking with delinquent or similar groups, such as the Barge Boys' Club described by Spencer (17), are in themselves a good guide to such relationships, but they need to be conducted rather more as research projects so that their meaning can be understood to the full, and the same applies to the type of work carried out by Aichhorn (18) and Wills (19).

The Psychological Approach. It is, of course, obvious that there is a long way to go yet before we can really say that we understand the mechanisms and growth of the delinquent personality, but what does not seem to be clearly appreciated is that there are, broadly speaking, three levels at which to work. In the first place there are the fundamental mechanisms of maladjustment stretching back into early childhood, and these have received much attention; but secondly there is the problem of how far it is possible to identify and classify delinquents by the more or less superficial methods of assessing personality which are, and it seems must necessarily be, employed by those who are actually doing the work on a large scale; and thirdly there is the question of the relationships between surface assessment and fundamental maladjustments. These might perhaps be described as surface traits, source traits, and the relationship between them. It would appear likely that many delinquents do not need major psychotherapy—if they did, the success rates of most types of treatment would be extremely small—but who are they, and how are they to be identified at an early stage? This is really the central problem of treatment classification, for if we could pick out the personalities who require particular uses of the limited techniques available to us, we should be very much farther on in both the pursuit of knowledge and the prevention and treatment of crime.

Methodology. The two main types of study, control group and follow-up, will be well known to the reader. To these may be added a third, which is a combination of the two, the control group also being followed up, of which the Cambridge-Somerville experiment is an example (20), and which will presumably be the form which the current Glueck study, of which 'Unraveling Juvenile

Delinquency' is apparently the first volume, will take. A fourth is the intensive case study, either of one or two, or of a group of cases, *e.g.* Shaw (21) and Bowlby (22).

The move towards the refinement of data shown in the Glueck study is distinctly valuable, but there is yet a long way to go in this sphere, mainly because, while there are now acres of figures to work on, the amount of interpretation and intercorrelation which has been attempted is comparatively small, so that it is rarely clear how far we are refining data and how far we are merely re-stating them. It is a pity that independent interpretations of the same basic data are not usually possible, since these might be revealing. The Gluecks have already provided a wealth of data, and a good many interesting ideas, but they cannot be expected to provide all the answers. What, for instance, are the implications of the factors found significant in their follow-up studies? Why just these and no others? What is the relationship between them? Or between the significant factors in their control group study? What is the meaning of ' maturation ' and how exactly does it work, if it does work? There is a large field for study here, but it is a study which needs to start with interpretation of existing data, and go on to consider the necessary techniques to answer the questions then raised. In this connection, a symposium, possibly upon the lines of Reckless's report (23), might well result in useful suggestions and ideas for workers in all fields. As Bowlby said (1, p. 38): ' The planning of the right project is itself a technical and time-consuming task requiring both theoretical exploration and reconnaissance in the field.'

What emerges from the foregoing rather sketchy mélange of opinions? It would appear to me that the main lines of immediate progress will be found in the following directions.

In the first place, we need to evolve adequate and significant descriptive classifications of the delinquent personality at various ages, so that we can discover how to identify delinquents in a manner which is significantly related to the types of prevention and treatment we are likely to be able to apply. In order to study the delinquent, we have taken a great deal of trouble to atomise him and his background and, while it is necessary to continue to study the parts, the pointers we have already gained from this can surely now be used to experiment with total personality descriptions, upon both the superficial level, for the use of those who need to deal with delinquents, and the corresponding fundamental level, and to study the relationships between the two. Out of all the factors which we have found to differentiate the delinquent from the non-delinquent or to be of importance in dealing with him, we do not know which sets go together in the most appropriate way to enable us to identify the pre-delinquent and the delinquent and to apply whatever measures are necessary. Attempts to do this with adolescent delinquents have been made by Zakolski (24) and Durea (25) upon the basis of personality and attitude tests, but these need validation, and as Ellis points out (26) such tests by themselves are not very reliable. Tests plus experienced judgments might however provide the answer, if we knew what sort of categories we were looking for.

Secondly, we need to evolve adequate and significant descriptive classifications of the social situations involved both in the delinquent's normal life, and in the artificial conditions in which we place him. Are there, for instance, any constant

relationships between various broken home situations and the production of particular types of delinquent personality? How do particular types of delinquents react to different group situations? It would be interesting to see how far techniques developed by social psychologists could be applied to the social situation of the delinquent. Such techniques as those of Moreno (27), Lippit and White (28), and Lewin (29), might be further elaborated and so might Laune's experiments in the assessment of prisoners by their colleagues (30). Indeed, as Elizabeth Handasyde points out (31), the analysis of group situations, especially by social workers, is largely neglected in this country.

It will be seen that these two suggested lines of approach are much the same as those suggested recently by Bowlby (1, p. 42). Where we differ is that Bowlby seems to be thinking entirely upon what is referred to here, rather vaguely, as the 'fundamental' level, whereas the writer is concerned to see progress at both levels, primarily because the type of project which Bowlby suggests can have only very little relationship in the near future with the type of problems which are most immediate in the prevention and treatment of delinquency. If the problem is, as we both seem to think, one of establishing a series of 'susceptible' personalities, and 'susceptibility points' in personalities—and these need to be established not only for susceptibility to delinquency, but also, and much more urgently, for susceptibility towards reform by the available treatment methods—it would seem that the better method is to work from superficiality downward, rather than from fundamentals upward, using, of course, the fundamentals we possess as guiding lines. This may seem an upside-down method of research, but it is merely another way of saying that we should now try to concentrate more on 'applications' than hitherto. As Reckless points out (23, pp. 77–78): 'In order to achieve the proper frame of mind to accept studies of response to handling as supplementary to or substitutive for etiological research, one should admit the fact that treatment procedures, measures or programmes can be tried without awaiting full and complete knowledge of causation. This fact merely means that treatment experimentation could very well use etiological insights and should use them, but that treatment is not dependent for its effectiveness on complete forehand knowledge of causation.'

If this be accepted it appears that there are two things which could be done immediately as preliminaries to larger-scale studies. In the first place, we need a series of experiments in different types of more or less superficial personality and situation classifications, with a view to establishing whether any particular systems of classification show any signs of proving useful. These could be done by interested groups of those actually engaged in treatment procedures, and could take the form of a series of small follow-up studies, supervised by a central body. A lead of this kind has already been given by Ogden in classifying Borstal boys (32). Secondly, a group of those with experience of the different types of approach to criminological studies might set about organizing a symposium to investigate the major research leads given by the existing material, and the possible techniques which might be used in following them up. These might lead eventually to two types of major studies, the directed social survey in which a number of delinquent areas are closely studied, possibly in connection with a control group study; and the control group follow-up study, which again needs to be directed to the particular aspects of delinquent careers and of treatment methods indicated by existing studies.

With these suggestions in mind, we may now turn to the practical aspects of the matter.

(2) *Some Practical Considerations*

It is now some five years since the Clapham Committee (33) reported in favour of increased grants to the social sciences. The Committee was reporting upon the ' provision for social and economic research ', but it is questionable how much of the extra money made available by the Treasury through the University Grants Committee has gone directly into research, and the survey recently made by P.E.P. (34) shows that research projects and departments are still largely being financed by the private foundations, while most of the money has gone to the building up of staffs which have only kept pace and no more with the increasing undergraduate population, but which it is to be hoped will produce, in the second generation at least, the personnel necessary for research purposes, and will eventually be able to devote more of their own time to it.

So far as criminology is concerned, the only expansion of real importance seems to have been the appointment of a Lecturer at Oxford, but it was not to be expected that the effects would be felt very strongly in direct appointments in this field, since the subject is one which is yet little recognized either in social science departments or in faculties of law. Nor is it likely that any but the largest universities will be able, in the foreseeable future, to allow themselves the luxury of an independent appointment, and we must expect that a good deal of the work of criminological research will be carried on by those holding other appointments but with particular interest in this field, unless, of course, the setting up of particular projects results in the creation of independent staffs. In any case, there are likely to be a number of more or less small units in the field who will need co-ordination, whether as part of a larger project or to prevent wasteful overlapping of scanty resources, or repetitions of work already done.

Secondly, the problem of applications and the relationship between academic research and practical workers is a particularly vital one in the criminological field, and it is absolutely essential that there should be a continual process of the interpretation of results of research to the worker in the field, and the needs of the worker to the academic. Speaking of the quality of research, P.E.P. remarks that ' taken as a whole, the experience of the last four years is unlikely to make a very deep impression either upon politicians, or upon civil servants, whose training and empirical tradition tend in any case to predispose them against the application of the scientific method to the study of social problems.' How well merited this may be as a general criticism is disputable, but it is the type of criticism which ought particularly to be avoided by criminologists. Nor should they confine their efforts to convincing those at the top; it is essential that the possibilities of research should be constantly present in the minds of all those who are working with delinquents, or upon what might be preventive measures, not only for the benefit which their own work can derive from it, but because of the co-operation which must necessarily take place in order to carry out the research projects of all types.

Thirdly, it has already been suggested that a great deal can be done in the field of classification studies by teams of workers in various practical fields, under the supervision of someone with research experience. It is so much easier to collect information in the course of everyday work, by means of an extra entry on a form or in a book, that the problem of scarce personnel and financial resources could

be considerably reduced in this way, and at the same time much useful information gained. Furthermore, we are very much in need of preliminary local surveys to act as pilots for larger pieces of work, and these could also be done as spare time work under specialized supervision. For both of these things, however, central co-ordination is absolutely essential, otherwise they will tend to be repetitive, diverse, and undirected in purpose.

For these reasons: (*a*) because it is necessary to stimulate the interest of research-minded people, who are not going to become whole-time criminologists, in order to provide suitable personnel; (*b*) because co-ordination is essential to prevent wasteful overlapping, and to direct the efforts of such bodies as the local committees set up to enquire into juvenile delinquency; (*c*) because the worker in the field must be associated with and kept abreast with research and its applications, and the academic with the practical worker's needs; (*d*) because the next steps to be taken might, as suggested above, be in the form of a series of small classification studies, and a symposium on method; and (*e*) because the politician and civil servant still need further demonstration of the real value of research, it seems imperative that either a body should be set up for the specific purpose of stimulating and co-ordinating criminological research or that an existing body, like the I.S.T.D., should greatly develop this side of its work. The Clapham Committee did consider the provision of a Social and Economic Research Council, and turned it down temporarily owing to lack of personnel, but this policy will soon be due for revision, and in any case, where the lack of personnel is likely to be endemic as it will be with criminology, the need for some kind of central body becomes much more important, although the body would be a little different in its objects from the type of work envisaged for such a Council.

Professor Simey has already said (1, p. 51) that 'the case for action by a central authority to initiate, execute, and finance research, disseminate knowledge and provide technical assistance is unanswerable'. It is not clear, however, what form it should take. It might possibly be a replica of the D.S.I.R. for social research, or a more limited body advising upon the distribution of grants in the criminological field but not itself undertaking research, or an independent, or semi-independent, Institute of standing in the field. It should be realized, however, that the type of work I have in mind is very limited in scope, and consists largely of what might be described as information, in a rather wide sense, rather than research proper, particularly in its initial stages. It is the sort of thing which might well be carried out by a research and information department within the Home Office, a department which certainly ought to be created. It is, to some extent, already being carried out by the I.S.T.D. and presumably this side of the I.S.T.D.'s work will be extended in the future. It is, to my mind, essential, however, that a good deal more attention should be paid to the aspects outlined above, and it is perhaps too much to ask of the Institute that it should pay particular attention to the type of information and co-ordination suggested to the exclusion of the more 'fundamental' activities which have always occupied it. Perhaps, failing the creation of a suitable department in the Home Office, of which there already exists a nucleus in the present Statistical Adviser and a research assistant in the Children's Branch, and which very much needs a counterpart in the Prison Commission, some sort of independent new body ought to be set up. I consider these functions of such importance as to justify grants in aid from one of the independent foundations, either to a new body or to a special branch of the

Institute, for research cannot develop satisfactorily without a centre of this nature, and, indeed, there are considerable advantages in having such a centre whether or not an official department is created. As an independent body, it would suffer rather less from departmental jealousies and civil service delay, and would be able to give independent and, if necessary, critical opinions when its advice was sought—all characteristics which should enhance its prestige.

Such a body might have local committees of its own, and assist in experiments in delinquency prevention and control—another field where grant aid by the philanthropic foundations would produce invaluable results. The type of experiment reported in 'Preventing Crime' (35), particularly in Scudder's and Thrasher's articles, and in Lowell Carr's book (36) could be very fruitful, especially if conducted under research conditions. In particular, the structure of British local government lends itself particularly well to experiments in the appointment of co-ordinating officers—'delinquency control officers'—to keep a watchful eye both upon the causes for the rise and fall of delinquency in various localities, and the efficiency of preventive and treatment methods. With some specialized advice, such officers could also prove a mine of research information; information which a central co-ordinating body could standardize and integrate. It is by such methods as these that we shall progress most rapidly in the fields of both prevention and treatment.

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'There can be no sound administration, even for profit-making, without the use, consciously or not, of observation, inference and verification: that is to say, of the scientific method. The irony is that those persons who, as participators in an organization, and wielding authority in its direction, have the most valuable opportunities for the use of the scientific method, usually lack the requisite training, if not also the leisure and the desire for this intellectual effort.'

BEATRICE WEBB: 'My Apprenticeship'.
Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd.)

NOTES AND CRITICISMS

Report of a Committee to Review Punishments in Prisons, Borstal Institutions, Approved Schools and Remand Homes

Parts III and IV: Approved Schools and Remand Homes. (*London: H.M.S.O., Cmd.* 8429. 1951. *Pp.* 72. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d.*)

There is a curious Jekyll and Hyde quality about the second report of the Franklin Committee which reviews punishments in Approved Schools and Remand Homes. Very naturally the visits of the Committee and (presumably) the evidence of witnesses directed attention to the wide diversities in children assembled under one roof. Clearly the question of punishments can only be considered in relation to the children liable to punishment and to the training and outlook of the staff called upon to administer it. Leaving on one side the positive, specialized needs of children of low mentality or abnormal personality, it is clearly difficult if not impossible to maintain a disciplined routine suitable for the more normal child without the risk of grave injustice to children who may not be capable of conforming to the pattern. On these fundamental issues the Committee re-enforces the observations of the Curtis Committee and points to the urgent need for better provision for the backward and the maladjusted, for psychiatric observation and for improvements in training and working conditions designed to secure the right kind of staff.

All the recommendations designed to these ends and in particular the stress laid on the need for inter-departmental action deserve immediate consideration and will evoke general gratitude to the Committee for interpreting their terms of reference in a wide and imaginative manner.

After this flying start disappointment deepens as the Committee approach the main subject-matter of their enquiry. Many visits have been paid and much time has obviously been devoted to the examination and analysis of punishment books and records. Percentages have been worked out with great elaboration—dare one say sometimes with over-elaboration considering the small numbers on which they are frequently based? For example the low figure of 2 per cent. boys given corporal punishment in one junior school is used as a peg on which to hang an argument for the maximum number of strokes, when in fact 2 per cent. represents precisely two cases. All this factual information is interesting and may justify the Committee in saying that ' punishments play no larger part than they do in other educational establishments in maintaining discipline ', although they do not specify what ' other educational establishments ' they have in mind. But is this really all we need to know and does it justify the Committee's uncritical acceptance of the present position as regards punishments, apart from some minor suggestions? Surely these conclusions would carry more weight and reassurance if some attempt had been made in the Report to correlate the punishment figures with (*a*) the general behaviour and discipline in the school under review and (*b*) the after-care figures of success?

The appendices reveal wide variations in the incidence of punishment in schools catering for the same age-group. For corporal punishment in boys' schools these range from 11 to 34 per cent. for senior boys, 0 to 15 per cent. in intermediate schools and 2 to 52 per cent. for juniors. In senior girls' schools where punishment generally takes the form of isolation in a detention room, the variation is from

9 to 71 per cent., and in one school 70 per cent. were punished more than once. Commenting on certain children's homes where those in authority considered caning and deprivation of liberty and food necessary to maintain order, the Curtis Committee said ' in our view such methods were used only at the greater cost of producing more problems than those with which they dealt '. Sections of this Report read as if the Committee were unaware of this widespread view and of the distaste with which corporal punishment and detention are regarded unless the case for them is made out.

In the course of a recent debate on this Report, a leading child psychiatrist remarked that if these children had not failed to react to ordinary methods, most of them would not be in Approved Schools at all. Are we satisfied that stronger doses of the same medicine are either necessary or effective, or have certain schools worked out a more excellent way?

The Committee are not convinced ' that the staff of all schools take a sufficiently grave view ' of absconding and yet the greater number of punishments recorded are inflicted for this offence. Are the schools with a high percentage of punishments more or less successful in dealing with it, or, as some maintain, does a settled routine of punishment have little effect one way or another? Is the widespread belief in the efficacy of punishment, which the Committee appears to share, just part of what Margery Fry calls the ' naïve assumption ' that delinquents young or old think out the future consequences of their behaviour?

It would have been too much to hope for an answer to all these questions, but the public had the right to expect some guidance and at least an awareness of the problem. Alas, Dr. Jekyll has faded out of the picture.

MADELEINE J. ROBINSON, J.P.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF PRISONS FOR THE YEAR 1950 (*London: H.M.S.O., Cmd.* 8356. 1951. *Pp.* 159. *Price* 4*s.* 6*d.*)

The Annual Report of the Prison Commission is again so full of interesting material that it is impossible in a brief note to draw attention to more than a tiny fraction of the developments and problems recorded.

There has been a further increase in the daily average prison and Borstal population, which is now over 21,000. In view of the resulting overcrowding, which can be only partially reduced by the opening of more and more open institutions, the information given on the Commission's programme of new permanent prison buildings is particularly topical. This programme includes ' two secure training prisons each for about 300 men, two secure boys' Borstals for 150 each, two small Borstals for girls to replace Aylesbury, and the " East-Hubert " psychiatric institution '. For the prisons a tentative ground plan is published which shows two three-storey cell and association blocks each for two houses of seventy-five men, with ample provision for workshops, gymnasium, class-room-library, and an open space of about eight acres in addition to parade grounds. The plan is designed ' to allow the maximum freedom of movement to prisoners during the day while retaining security with the minimum of staff', and it will no doubt be widely discussed not only in this country, where for nearly half a century no prison has been built, but also abroad, in particular in the United States where more attention has been paid to problems of prison architecture than perhaps anywhere else.

The development of corrective training and preventive detention is still very much in the foreground of interest, and it is greatly to be welcomed that the Commissioners have now included several statistical tables to give us an idea of how these two special forms of imprisonment, the one created, the other modernized, by the Act of 1948, have so far been applied not only by the prison administration but also by the courts. From these tables it appears that only very few cases, approximately 4 per cent., have been sentenced to corrective training against the recommendation of the Commissioners. In another 4 or 5 per cent., however, the Commissioners felt unable to express any definite views as to suitability, and in their comments they draw attention to what they rightly regard as an unsatisfactory feature of the present system: all too often, they state, there has been no adequate opportunity for their staffs to make a real study of the offender, and although Governors have been instructed to be frank on this point in their reports to the courts, the Commissioners suspect that the proportion of cases in this category is in fact higher than only 4 or 5 per cent. The question arises whether the process of observation and classification now carried out at a special Centre after a sentence of corrective training has been passed should not have its rightful place between conviction and sentence. This, however, might involve excessive administrative difficulties as prisoners would have to be transported to the Centre from the place of the trial and back again for sentence. The minimum to be asked for is, therefore, that the prison administration should be given adequate time to study each case before making recommendations to the court; otherwise, section 21(4) of the Act of 1948 might easily become a mere formality.

When the Criminal Justice Act was debated it was felt by some critics, not without reason, that not only the lower but also the upper age limit should be fixed by law to prevent offenders too old to benefit from the dynamic system of training in corrective training institutions being sent to them by the courts. It now appears that, on the whole, this has so far been avoided, as out of a total of 1,216 persons sentenced to corrective training in 1950 only 30 were forty and over and 9 were fifty and over. Regarding the length of these sentences, a substantial proportion (350 men and 14 women) received sentences of under three years. This is important in view of the Lord Chief Justice's statement on January 29, 1951, in the case of Rex *v.* Albury, quoted in the Report, that the Court of Criminal Appeal regarded sentences of corrective training of less that three years as appropriate only in quite exceptional circumstances—a view which, by the way, is strongly supported by the Governors of Corrective Training Prisons (p. 98 of the Report). The corresponding tables for preventive detention show that of a total of 217 cases, 42 were fifty and over, 17 were sixty and over, and 6 even seventy and over. In only two cases did the courts make use of their new power to impose sentences of more than ten years.

With regard to young prisoners, it is good to find that the Commissioners seem invariably to take advantage of the provision in section 56 of the Act of 1948 to discharge on licence prisoners of under twenty-one. The sharp decline in the numbers of these prisoners from 2,756 in 1948 to 1,339 in 1949 is a most welcome result of section 17 of the Act, but the high proportion of those sent to prison without any previous proved offences (26·9 per cent. of the boys and 41·5 per cent. of the girls) remains an unsatisfactory feature of judicial sentencing policy. Moreover, the mental picture of the average young prisoner given by the

Governor of one of the two special training prisons used for this category is rightly regarded as disquieting by the Commissioners. One might wish for more details concerning the actual training scheme in these two institutions, especially for the over 200 young prisoners who received sentences of more than a year.

The information on after-care in Chapter V has been supplemented by a very useful separate Report published by the Council of the Central After-Care Association for 1949 and 1950 (35 pp.). Concerning matters of general policy, it is reported that the supervision of young male prisoners is undertaken by the Borstal Division of the Association. Regarding after-care of prisoners discharged under sect. 22, C.J.A. 1948 (a problem touched on in our Note, Vol. I, p. 308) the Council rightly 'felt some concern at a position which leaves the Association in the position of performing a police function only, with no flavour of welfare, especially as the offenders in question have not unnaturally tended to look to the Association for help'. For a variety of reasons it was decided, however, not to ask for authority to take over from the local D.P.A.S.'s responsibility for such cases. Time alone can show whether this is in fact the best solution of one of the most intricate problems in the whole field of after-care.

There is also a short but valuable Appendix by Dr. Young on psychiatric treatment in prisons.

H. M.

Criminal Statistics, England and Wales, 1950

(*London: H.M.S.O., Cmd.* 8301. 1951. *Pp. xliii* + 92. *Price* 4*s.* 6*d.*)

The figures recorded in the recent volume of Criminal Statistics show no significant changes against the previous year. The number of persons found guilty of indictable offences rose from 114,294 to 116,021, of non-indictable offences from 523,563 to 564,844. Indictable offences known to the Police increased from 459,869 to 461,435, whereas the percentage of such crimes cleared up remained at 47. The increase was most marked for crimes of violence (16 per cent.), robbery (18 per cent.) and sex offences (5 per cent.).

An important addition has been made to the information so far given: 'In 1950, for the first time, an analysis has been made of the information about persons found guilty of indictable offences so as to show the number of *different* persons in each age group found guilty during the year and the number of additional findings of guilt of indictable offences recorded at the same time as the principal findings of guilt' (paragraphs 7, 15–18). It is shown, for example, that in the Higher Courts a total of 15,983 persons had a total of 27,048 different findings of guilt against them; in the Magistrates' Courts a total of 93,928 persons a total of 121,353 findings of guilt. At the Higher Courts, 21 per cent. of persons were found guilty of two and 7 per cent. of three offences; in the Magistrates' Courts the percentages were 10 and 3. These figures mean a valuable contribution to our present very inadequate knowledge of the proportion of habitual against occasional crime. Being limited to crime committed within one year, they cover only a small section of the whole field. The next step which, it is hoped, will be taken in the near future will be to provide more comprehensive material on the entire problem of recidivism, divided according to type of offence, age and sex.

A number of interesting graphs are given to show the variations of crime between 1938 and 1950 (pp. xxix–xxxii).

H. M.

Juvenile Court Magistrates

Under Rule 2 of the Juvenile Courts (Constitution) (Amendment) Rules, 1950 (S.I.1950 No. 1627 (L.25)) in general, on or after February 1, 1951, no justice should be a member of a juvenile court panel after he had attained the age of sixty-five years and the appointment of a member of a panel who on that date had already attained the age of sixty-five should then cease. Rule 3, however, enabled the Lord Chancellor to direct that a justice should continue to be a member of a panel, notwithstanding that he had attained the age of sixty-five, if it appeared to him that in order to have enough justices on a panel in any area an exception should be made.

According to a Home Office Circular No. 266/1951 of December 31, 1951, 'steps have now been taken in most parts of the country to add sufficient justices to the Commissions of the Peace to enable suitable additions to the juvenile court panels to be made, and the Lord Chancellor wishes it to be known that, generally speaking, he does not favour the grant of further exceptions under Rule 3. It should not, accordingly, be assumed that the exceptions that have been granted will be extended beyond the present date of expiration.'

London County Council—Report of the Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, 1950

Following on the joint memorandum issued by the Home Office and Ministry of Education in April, 1949, a number of conferences were convened by local authorities throughout the country; it was the Committee appointed by the conference held in London that recently issued its Report. The constitution of this Committee was diverse, but comprised a fair sprinkling of people more or less professionally interested in juvenile delinquency, supported in their efforts by advice from the officials of the Council and other agencies. Its terms of reference were to review the suggestions made by the memorandum and subsequently at the Conference, mainly with regard to 'the facilities available in London for the leisure-time activities and the guidance of the young person and the child', and to make recommendations. At the outset the Committee decided to limit themselves to two main lines of enquiry: to review the adequacy of the means for dealing with environmental problems, and to propose suggestions for 'long-term treatment in relation to parent-child relationships' and associated topics. In order to aid their deliberations the Children's Officer accumulated certain statistics which were printed as a substantial appendix.

The Report itself discusses the original memorandum, includes a brief survey of previous investigations carried out in the London area, makes general observations and then proceeds to deal with the various questions raised at the end of the joint memorandum, concluding with twenty-five specific recommendations of its own. The upshot of all this is that the Report contains many sensible and practical suggestions, but it does not tell us anything new about Delinquency; in fact, the Committee recognized that such research was outside its province. What the Report does disclose—and in this respect it is a valuable document—is how a local authority operates towards the prevention and control of Juvenile Delinquency, and in so doing indicates something of the approach and attitudes of such a body to this problem. For this reason the first two recommendations of the Report are worthy of close attention and are quoted in full: firstly,

' Research on a unified and scientific basis to secure statistical information relating to delinquents over a long period on the lines of that furnished by the Children's Officer . . . should be supported, preferably in conjunction with other research projects in hand or which may be undertaken throughout the country '; secondly, ' An intensive study of two or three specially-selected neighbourhoods to show changes in the extent of delinquency and related factors, as compared with the position about 25 years ago, together with a detailed investigation of the case histories and background of selected delinquent children of school age, should be undertaken if possible by a selected team of workers.'

The second of these two projects is rather grandiose in design and seems to be framed to include the best of two worlds, a harmonizing of what is a primarily and perhaps overworked sociological approach with the psychological, and it is hoped scientific, study of the individual case, but excluding (since there is no hint of it) the techniques of operational research. The first project might provide much interesting material granted that certain pitfalls in the presentation of the statistics printed as the appendix to the Report are appreciated. Fifteen tables are given covering such items as education, type of offence, and period when it was committed, decision of the court, something of the home conditions and family background—all with reference to a sample of about 1,700 boys and girls (including just over 500 recidivists) charged before London Juvenile Courts over a period of seven months at the end of 1949. No control group was used and the figures for the recidivists were simply extracted from the rest, conclusions apparently being drawn from the straightforward comparison of the percentages. Some of the data are expressed in a way which might be misleading. For example, there are certain figures which show the high proportion of delinquent children per thousand of the school population to be found in schools for the educationally sub-normal, as compared with, say, Modern schools, which do not take into account the possible factors influencing the distribution of such cases, but nevertheless may have led the Committee to state that ' educationally sub-normal children form the hard-core of delinquents '. A more serious instance is to be recognized in Tables 4 and 4A. Here figures are given about the delinquents' school attendance and attainment respectively grouped under various categories: regular, irregular and persistent truancy; above normal, normal and below normal. The criteria of these categories are not stated, and in the second instance no mention is made of standardized tests; so it may be presumed that the figures are based on subjective estimates and hence of little value as scientific evidence.

Many of the other recommendations put forward by the Committee—such as those about pre-service training, the treatment of problem families, the proper use of leisure, or the Youth Employment Service—have appeared elsewhere in similar guise and are familiar. Some of them however spring from problems peculiar to the L.C.C. and are of interest for the light they cast on the administrative framework and its resilience in meeting new situations. From the comments on the methods of dealing with truancy and the facilities available for the treatment of maladjusted children in clinics it is obvious that the long delays encountered in both cases are unsatisfactory, and in the former instance a change in the law is suggested. To short-circuit part of the rather lengthy procedure of referral through the Problem Cases Conferences (there is perhaps room for an independent inquiry into their methods of disposal) the Report goes on to recommend that it ought to be possible for ' any responsible person ' suspecting maladjustment

to be able to refer that child direct to a clinic for diagnosis and treatment (though this contingency was already provided for in theory). And finally the question is raised, but not answered, of how effective the co-operative effort is between the various agencies, both official and voluntary, in London: it is an important, though sometimes neglected consideration, especially in an area so large as that covered by the metropolis. JOHN CROFT.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

(*Report of Discussions of a University Settlement Group. Liverpool University Settlement, Nile Street, Liverpool*, 1. 1951. *Pp.* 15. *Price* 2*s.*)

' Over a period of some eighteen months the Settlement Luncheon Club devoted its fortnightly meetings to discussions on various problems of juvenile delinquency. This report is a summary of the Club's discussions and their general recommendations. While it is not claimed that the group has covered much fresh ground, it is hoped that the essentially practical nature of their approach may have helped towards a clearer understanding of the many issues involved ', states Mr. John B. Mays, Warden of the Liverpool University Settlement, who is the writer of the Report. There is no doubt that this pamphlet, short as it is, will achieve its purpose. It is refreshingly realistic, and the fact that all its members are in close contact with the problems under discussion gives special weight to their views. Among the points raised are the following: Juvenile Courts: the lack of uniformity in the outlook and methods of lay magistrates and the absence of training for their work are deplored, but their replacement by stipendiary magistrates is not favoured. The appointment of more J.P.'s, however, which is one of the remedies suggested, seems unlikely to achieve its object. All the more can we agree with the proposal to deal with minor offenders out of court, although only a few of the possible alternatives are discussed in the Report. Police cautioning may not necessarily be the best substitute, nor may head teachers always be willing to shoulder the added responsibility. The work of the Liaison Officers recently appointed by the Chief Constable (see this *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 160) is praised, but the interesting point is made that first offenders who would otherwise be dealt with by Police caution have to be charged in court when apprehended in company with recidivists. Other recommendations are that special Probation Officers or Welfare Officers should be appointed to schools with high delinquency rates, that the Home Office should undertake an enquiry into the purpose and functions of Remand Homes, and that the Liverpool Juvenile Delinquency Committee should be strengthened and given more financial backing to enable it not merely to advise but also to inaugurate preventive work. H. M.

CHILDREN'S SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Alresford Place Hostel and School, Hampshire, was opened by the above association in May, 1949, for the residential treatment of maladjusted boys and girls, aged between about nine and about fifteen years, of average or superior intelligence. It provides a therapeutic environment on community and individual lines. Psychiatrists who are on the Council of Management visit for observation, advice and diagnosis.

Of 43 children admitted as maladjusted, 13 had been before a Juvenile Court for offences before admission and 2 for other reasons; 18 others had committed offences but not been charged. Eighteen children left before April, 1951. After-

histories have been obtained in 15 cases, of whom all but 3 are considered by their sponsors or parents to be doing well and have not been convicted of offences. Of 3 who have been found guilty of offences since leaving, 2 had made progress in character and adjustment.

A dual attitude characterizes the methods: there is an individual approach and parental relationship on the one hand, and on the other a gradual building-up of group solidarity through shared responsibility and community government. All maladjusted children are deficient in capacity to form relationships, hence a coherent group is only possible after some months and after individual hindrances have been lessened. The rate at which it can be established varies however from child to child. Another example of this dual approach is the therapeutic painting taught. Untramelled expression of inner phantasies and a form of painting which stimulates a controlled relationship to external reality are both used.

Alresford Place, after having been closed for repairs and reorganization of staff, is now reopening under the original Warden. The Ministry of Education, having recently inspected the Hostel and School, have informed Local Education Authorities of their assent to the payment of maintenance fees. Children can also be maintained under a Fit Person Order, or privately by their parents.

M. E. Franklin.

REVIEWS

Patterns of Marriage. By Eliot Slater, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P., and Moya Woodside. (London: Cassell and Co. Ltd. 1951. Pp. 311. Price 17*s.* 6*d.*)

Books on the psychology and sociology of sex fall naturally into two categories: those which deserve and require a careful appraisement and those which should be consigned forthwith to the waste-paper basket. The work of Eliot Slater and Moya Woodside belongs unquestionably to the former group. Adopting the technique of the single psychiatric interview they made a comparative study of two sample groups of 100 married subjects, one drawn from among neurotic casualties and the other from ordinary hospital casualties. The results of the interviews are presented under various headings, including, amongst others, family background, education, courtship, reasons for marriage, happiness in marriage, marital sexuality, procreation and contraception. Excluding a final and quite superfluous chapter on politics, religion and value, the whole comprises a reliable descriptive account of certain aspects of marriage in the working class, and since reliable descriptions are hard to come by, the book should be read not only by the general public but by sexologists, psychiatrists and workers in delinquency who, although well aware that unhappy home conditions are a predisposing factor in the delinquency of children, are often woefully ignorant of the statistical facts of marital life.

The reader must, however, apply certain reservations. Although the descriptive facts are here, only the most obvious conclusions can be safely drawn from them. The authors themselves are apparently aware of this, for when they take to theorising on 'love in marriage' they find themselves compelled to discuss factors regarding which their clinical observations provide little direct evidence. This is an inevitable consequence of the authors' method. In dealing with a subject that calls for close familiarity with unconscious factors and mechanisms it is not to be expected that superficial and rapid examination of conscious factors

can produce any very profound understanding. Valuable as the work is in providing general orientation for sociologists and social workers it cannot be said to do more than scratch the surface of the problem. E. G.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY. By S. F. Nadel. (London: Cohen and West. 1951. Pp. xi + 426. Price 25*s*.)

It would be difficult to guess from the inclusion of the word ' foundations ' in the title that the subject of this book is not anthropology but the methodology of the social sciences. After the first fifty pages or so the reader meets with nothing apart from an occasional piece of illustrative material to remind him that the author is an anthropologist. This does not in the least detract from the value of the book, but it is just as well to be prepared. For this is methodology in the grand manner—a full-dress performance; and some readers might resent being tricked into producing the concentrated effort needed to follow the intricacies of the argument.

The second thing to be said is that the book is permeated throughout by a deep intellectual sincerity. One feels that Professor Nadel was determined to lead us faithfully along the path on which he has travelled in evolving methods for his own researches, without taking any short cuts or shirking any difficulties. At times his enthusiasm is excessive, and he leads us through prickly undergrowths which we might, perhaps, have been permitted to by-pass. Nevertheless, the book is an achievement—a remarkable *tour-de-force*.

Professor Nadel distinguishes the anthropologist by saying that, unlike the sociologist, he studies exotic societies which have no history, and must therefore discover his own first principles. And, unlike the historian, he studies, not the past and the unique, but the present and the general; or rather, ethnography observes the particular, and social anthropology explains it by subsuming the particular under a general order. The rest of the book is concerned with the methods of observation and explanation.

The crux of the matter will be found in Chapters 8 to 10, dealing with explanation, experiment and understanding. The thesis, briefly, is that explanation consists in discovering invariant relations between facts, and also a fitness in these relations which satisfies our curiosity. So far so good. The difficult problems arise when we consider what are the criteria of fitness. Three are offered—logical consistency (*i.e.* in the minds of the actors), mechanical causality, and purpose. The last raises the familiar issues touching the nature of rational behaviour, but it is doubtful whether Professor Nadel's handling of the matter will be of great practical assistance to the researcher who wishes to test the validity of his explanation in terms of intelligible purpose. Causality, he says, is the most pervasive intervening concept in social enquiry and the most satisfying. The problem he poses is this. We love to discover hidden mechanisms—in this case in the psychophysical field. When we do this, are we discovering causes or merely analysing the phenomenon at a deeper level and expressing in longhand what the social analysis expresses in shorthand? Can we discover the cause of delinquent action, for example, by analysing the psychological processes of the delinquent personality? Professor Nadel speaks of the hierarchy of empirical science, and appears to hold that, although in the natural sciences there is no causal relation between two adjacent levels in the hierarchy, in the social sciences there is. One reason given is that there is interaction between the social and the psychological. Of course

there is, but surely not in the sense that there is interaction between a fact socially defined and the same fact psychologically analysed. The natural and social sciences cannot differ in their submission to logical principles. Nevertheless, explanation on two levels of analysis may be perfectly valid, revealing interaction in time between different facts, even though the mere passage from one level to another is not explanatory. This appears to be one of the places where we are led, unnecessarily, into the undergrowth.

When he turns to psychological explanation, Professor Nadel starts with the concept of mental energy and passes from that to action potentials, which are, in fact, instincts. These he groups under three headings: pleasure—displeasure; equilibrium—tension; conformity—shame. He sees that the first two pairs have affinities, in that displeasure and tension may coincide. But he also observes that many pleasures involve tension, which can itself be pleasurable and sought-after. This makes his second pair somewhat equivocal, and he identifies equilibrium with quiescence, as contrasted with felt states of stress. He lays great emphasis on the word ' felt '. Thus a state in which the urge to delinquency is balanced by fear of punishment, and both urges are felt, is a state of tension, not equilibrium. Equilibrium is achieved only when neither the temptation to crime nor the fear of punishment are felt. The distinction between these two states is important, but the value of the concept ' equilibrium ', if confined to the second, is less obvious.

In conclusion, this book does not succeed in its aim of making explicit methods which are implicit in current social research (one of the aims stated in the Preface). It is too involved to serve as a ' restatement of things well known '. But it is full of stimulating thoughts and challenges for those who are prepared to study its detail.

T. H. MARSHALL.

RESPONSIBILITY. By Sir Walter Moberly. (Riddell Memorial Lectures at the University of Durham.) (London: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. 62. Price 5*s*.)

The theme of these lectures turns on the contrast between three points of view. There is, first, the attitude of the humanitarian determinist psychologist who regards crime as a disease. Then there is the attitude of the typical judge who insists on responsibility, rejects the plea of uncontrollable impulses, and points out that, as we have to deal with men in the mass, concessions to the minority of criminals who are not really to blame must be viewed in the light of their effect on others who will be strongly tempted to excuse themselves too on the ground that their own impulses also are uncontrollable. And, thirdly, there is the characteristically Christian attitude to sin which is at the same time more severe and less severe than the second: insisting on the fact of sin but remembering acutely that all men and not only convicted criminals are guilty of sin; and treating the sinner as a person in a way of which neither of the other attitudes are capable. Here the author joins issue with writers who have attacked the conception of original sin as incompatible with the notion of individual responsibility required by a satisfactory ethics. His reply to them is, in brief, that it is not possible to separate thus sharply what is and what is not due to our free will. There are all sorts of intermediate degrees between fully deliberate wickedness and a helpless

automatism which excludes all blame; and in view of the great political crimes of the day it is important to insist that the wrongful attitudes of individuals lead in summation to the terrible wrongs of governments in ways which it is not possible to enumerate or analyse and in which we all or most thus have a share. One may recognize the force of what Sir Walter has to say here, while still deploring the use of such obscure terms as original sin and, in view of the tremendous abuse of this term in the past, sympathizing with those who wish to dispense with the conception altogether.

Sir Walter has given us a well-balanced, lucid and stimulating summary of the issue between the three main points of view as to punishment, and he certainly deserves our gratitude for an impressive piece of work. Though he has a number of interesting practical illustrations, he does not draw from his premises definite concrete suggestions for dealing with the problems which beset those concerned with the punishment and reform of delinquents. Nevertheless any one who reads the lectures with intelligence should be affected by them in the spirit of his work.

A. C. Ewing.

The Habitual Criminal. By Norval Morris. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. for the London School of Economics and Political Science. 1951. Pp. viii + 395. Price 27*s.* 6*d.*)

Norval Morris has provided a highly informative and extensive study of recidivist legislation and correctional practice in England and the Commonwealth; and, in less detail, in some fourteen countries of the Continent. His study was predicted upon an apparent two-fold need if the correction of the potential recidivist is to be made more effective: viz., the improvement of statutory and administrative policy for the treatment of the offender and the extension of knowledge relating to the individual criminal before he is sentenced. As a foundation for further research, which he hopes may be conducted in the future, the author provides not only an excellent comparative survey of the habitual criminal legislation of a total of twenty-seven countries, with special emphasis upon the English Prevention of Crime Act of 1908 and the Criminal Justice Act of 1948, but an analysis of statistical data on more than 300 habitual criminals incarcerated under these laws in English prisons and a social history of eight of these. The material should provide a good partial basis for further empirical study of the effects of recidivist legislation and for the gradual reformulation of correctional policy in handling these offenders. One may question Morris's preference for the open-ended sentence and perhaps his esteem for the single-track system, but his data are of no less value for continuing scrutiny of the consequences of habitual criminal legislation. Moreover, he makes some apparently very sound recommendations (though they are not implicit in his research data) for the establishment of half-way houses to which repeaters might be released to work under some measure of regulation and supervision during the crucial period of early adjustments to the experience of freedom and responsibility. Also of real merit is his stress upon the need for more adequate information about the offender through pre-sentence inquiries and upon the desirability of developing more specialized institutional facilities for the difficult recidivist.

There is much of interest in this volume to the American reader, we believe, and also to students of criminology and comparative criminal law in other parts

of the world. Unfortunately from our point of view, the author provides no comparison with legislation or practice in the United States, allegedly because of the wide difference in law and policy between the states. Despite a number of striking differences, there is actually a good deal of similarity not only in the problem but in the fundamental modes of approach to it in the U.S. system. As contrasted with the legislation in the United States, where the laws commonly provide for life imprisonment for the third- or fourth-time 'loser,' the open-ended indeterminate sentence is more prevalent elsewhere (though not in England). In a number of countries, including England, legislation is similar to that which prevails in a majority of American states in that the term of imprisonment is extended or an increment of time is added to the ordinary penalty for the habitual criminal. However, the dual-track system which appears to exist in some form in a majority of countries is strange to American penology: the idea of a period specifically for punishment, followed by a phase of non-punitive detention for the general public protection has no close counterpart in U.S. correctional philosophy, where ideas of deterrence and reformation for the offender apply to the entire period and where, increasingly, punishment is derogated as an ultimate aim of treatment. The varied ideas that have developed for special security measures in the countries of Europe challenge interest and speculation as to their effectiveness. Morris's volume makes it very clear, if it were not already so, that we need persisting effort to discover the consequences of our methods of treatment and to establish more effectual approaches.

There has been much too little of the kind of socio-legal research that is well exemplified in this study. We require systematic thinking, not of an exclusively legal character, nor yet of a sociological or psychiatric orientation. For a mature criminology, for the development of sound statutes and administrative policy, we must have the co-ordinated thinking of legal and behaviour sciences which look to social behaviour and its control through institutions that are human as well as legal.

PAUL W. TAPPAN.

THE BRITISH POLICE. By J. M. Hart. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1951. Pp. viii + 192. Price 15*s*.)

'A certain historical sentimentality', writes Mrs. Hart, 'attributing almost magical powers to the unarmed British constable, has blurred some accounts of the British Police; and there is a danger lest, in contrasting our police with that of Hitler's Germany or Stalin's Russia, we fail to criticise what we should.'

If such a danger exists, this especially authoritative book does a determined best to dissipate it; authoritative, because Mrs. Hart was for some years in the Police Department of the Home Office, and determined, because she has directed a mercilessly critical eye upon all the administrative and personal foibles that first led the foreign visitor to exclaim, 'Your policemen are wonderful'. The result is a pungent, witty, and delectably readable account of a remarkably efficient machine that nevertheless creaks and rattles on its improvised foundations: and it has got Mrs. Hart into some trouble with those critics, a valiant few, to whom the British bobby is the father of civilization rather than one of its lustier sons.

She deserves to get into a little trouble, for she has spared nobody's feelings, castigating Home Secretaries and coming down especially hard on what you might call the police 'mystique' and its school of apostles. And from Whitehall she has acquired a pigeon's-eye view of the police service which (to turn her own

phrase against her) blurs her account because it sees only police, not policemen. She is right, in my opinion, when she says that the police are ' popular because they are not too efficient '. I have seen their popularity wane in districts where a change of command has put an end to the *laissez-faire* that accompanies patronage. This is a huge question in itself, going far beyond the personal dispositions of P.C.s Smith, Jones, and Robinson. It involves a separation of punishable offences into two categories hitherto hardly recognized—those in which the police *must* prosecute, such as murder and larceny, and those in respect of which they have a traditional (and, according to some jurists, a constitutional) discretion, such as running a public whist-drive or failing to licence a dog. In the first category *laissez-faire* would be not merely condemned as inefficiency—it would be execrated as criminal in itself. In the second it would be hailed as wise, humane, enlightened, tolerant, British, and ' wonderful '. And it is in the second that the policeman matters *as a person*; a person, moreover, who lives among the public he serves and controls, digging his allotment, paying his rates, going to the cinema, belonging to the bowls club, and voting at elections.

Mrs. Hart is not concerned with him. But of the service to which he belongs she has written the book of the century—fearless, speculative, generally accurate, provoking and sometimes caustic. Who doesn't enjoy caustic writing when it is obviously well-informed? Well, a few people; but I am not among them. This is a very good book indeed.

C. R. Hewitt.

The Juvenile Court, Today and Tomorrow. (The Eleventh Clarke Hall Lecture.) By John Watson. (London: Clarke Hall Fellowship. 1951. Pp. 40. Price 1*s.* 6*d.*)

John Watson on Juvenile Delinquency is always worth reading, but it was difficult for him to say anything new only a few months after the publication of the revised edition of ' The Child and the Magistrate '. Nevertheless he makes some important suggestions.

Magistrates would gain more experience than is now possible in rural areas if the number of Juvenile Court Panels were reduced and the same Panel sat in two or more Petty Sessional Divisions. The requirement of consent of young persons charged with an indictable offence to be tried by a Juvenile Court should be abolished. Unless they have been previously warned and had it explained to them, they get very confused when the first question they are asked is whether they wish to be tried by a jury. Furthermore, Juvenile Court magistrates are more conversant with the correct treatment than those who preside in the Higher Court and who have little experience in dealing with this age group. The option of giving evidence on oath should be abolished for those under seventeen who have pleaded Not Guilty. Instead, they should be asked whether or not they would like to tell the Court the truth about what happened; if they desire to do so, they should then be asked whether they are willing to be questioned on what they have said. Thus the defendant still retains the right of not speaking at all and also of not being cross-examined. Local Authorities should combine to set up Central Remand Homes to which can be sent for observation those for whom a psychiatrist's report is requested, since it is impossible to have a properly qualified psychiatric team in each of the eighty existing Remand Homes, some of which are very small. Attendance and Detention Centres should be established as soon as

possible, as the Court now has inadequate powers of punishing those 'non-psychopathic public nuisances' who need to learn that there are unpleasant consequences for behaving in such a manner. The defendant himself should be included in the team of magistrates, teachers, probation officers, children's officers and psychiatrists who are co-operating together to help him, and should not be allowed to feel that he is relieved of responsibility for his own reformation.

BASIL L. Q. HENRIQUES, J.P.

PROBLEME DER JUGENDVERWAHRLOSUNG: Ein Bericht über psychologische Untersuchungen in der Nachkriegszeit. By Kurt Gottschaldt. (Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth. 1950. Pp. v + 182. Price D.M. 7.35.)

This report is based on the 560 cases of children and young persons referred to the *Polyklinik* of the City of Berlin Children's Hospital by schools, youth welfare and employment officers, and from homes and other institutions between the autumn of 1945 and that of 1946.

One-third of all the dwellings in Wedding, the working-class district in the French sector of the city from which most of the cases were drawn, were totally destroyed and another 27 per cent. more or less seriously damaged. Professor Gottschaldt, in his introduction and throughout, notes the relevance of overcrowding, of the lack of fuel, food, clothing and shoes.

About half the cases were between the ages of eleven and eighteen and the second half of the report is made up of case histories of boys and girls of this age group. A preliminary warning is given against dividing clinical cases into hard and fast types, since this presupposes an exact understanding—which does not as yet exist—of the differences between inherited or constitutional defects of behaviour and those induced by a particular material or social milieu. Nevertheless, the cases are grouped so as to illustrate the chief features of the year's work, *e.g.* psychopaths, those apparently due to the contemporary material shortages, those coming from a generally 'neurotic' home atmosphere, etc.

The first part of the report contains twelve tables of information chiefly about the heredity and physical and biological development and family background of the young people visiting the clinic. Of 534 whose family circumstances could be ascertained, 124 (23·2 per cent.) came from 'normal' families, *i.e.* in which both parents were at home theoretically available for the upbringing of the child. Actual living conditions were analysed in 531 cases, with reference both to physical provision and the general tone and example obtaining in the home with the following result: Good, 7·7 per cent.; reasonable conditions, somewhat cramped, 29·4 per cent.; bad condition, poor example set, 45 per cent.; very bad, broken home, criminal habits, etc., 17·9 per cent.

At the same time Dr. Gottschaldt in an interesting chapter on research methodology, points out the limitations of statistical analysis: 'No psychological finding, no test result, neither a collection of characteristic traits nor even an investigation into constitutional biology by itself can provide the basis of a decisive diagnosis. But it is on the foundation of these separate findings, by which intuition can be adjusted . . . that the pattern and history of the young person's life must be comprehended, described and understood. This is only possible if at the same time the comparative relativity of all standards of values is realized in these days of the collapse and dissolution of the accepted ordering of social living.'

His concluding section on ' resocialization ' through membership of a ' We-group ' will be of particular interest to those anxious to see a closer integration of case-work and group work applied to young delinquents. Drawing attention to Makarenko's ' The Road to Life ', he writes: ' The aim is to re-introduce the individual into community life. This training, however, is actually only possible in a " We-group " and in the well-regulated society of the " We-group ". Only insofar as the young person has won back his place and his function within the " We-group " does he face up to claims and demands and put on his conduct and activity values based on the social pattern of the group.'

This is an interesting and valuable report. Despite everything, the clinic, which has been under Dr. Gottschaldt's leadership since 1935, has been able to carry on its scientific and therapeutic work. It is encouraging to find at least one well-established indigenous root from which the new and possibly weakly grafts of child guidance clinics, which are being enthusiastically sponsored and encouraged in the western occupation zones, may derive strength and nourishment.

PETER KUENSTLER.

WORKING WITH TEEN-AGE GANGS. A Report on the Central Haarlem Street Clubs Project. By Paul Crawford, Daniel Malamud and James Dumpson. (New York: Welfare Council of New York City. 1950. Pp. xii + 165. Price not stated.)

The very scanty nature of the literature dealing with group-work among street gangs is a fair indication of the lack of attention which this important field of youth work has hitherto attracted. The appearance, therefore, of a book from New York describing an experiment with teen-age gangs in the Central Haarlem area is particularly welcome, and it is to be hoped that the experience which has been gained in the course of three years' work will be carefully studied in this country by everyone interested not only in the prevention of delinquency but also in the problems of community organization and the youth service.

The prelude to field operations among street gangs in New York was a series of wars among them in 1945. A committee analysed the situation and recommended the setting up of an area project in specific areas. Trained workers were to be sent to seek the gangs in their hideouts and gain their confidence. Each project should organize an area committee of people living in the area. In addition a professional advisory committee was appointed to give expert advice to the staff. Work was done with four gangs, each with a history of violent gang warfare, including stealing, rape, truancy and the use of narcotics. Five field workers were employed, and in 1947 a Research Director was appointed to make as objective and comprehensive an assessment of the experiment as possible. One must say here how valuable this decision proved to be, and how important it is that similar experiments should at any rate have access to scientific methods of assessment. Without such help there is a grave danger that the value of work of this kind which demands a wide knowledge of group behaviour among young people will be lost.

The authors describe with considerable care the boys' attitude to adult authority, their place of recreation, and their leisure activities. Each worker told the boys quite frankly who he was and explained his purpose in working with them. In the early stages of the experiment a neutral attitude to anti-social behaviour was

adopted. The boys' acceptance of the worker grew slowly and by degrees. The progress of the experiment was marked by a number of stages. First, the overcoming of distrust, second, the stimulation of a change in attitudes and in behaviour and, finally, a successful closing of relations. The workers very wisely were determined to minimize as far as possible the difficult situation which would arise from the withdrawal of their support at the termination of the experiment.

As regards the lessons to be learned from the project, the authors themselves point to a number of important conclusions. In the first place insufficient emphasis was placed on the need in area work for specialized skills and knowledge as well as for workers of the right personality. The need for supervision of these workers by a supervisor trained in psychiatric social work was also recognized. Secondly, the writers very rightly comment on the serious mistake which was made in not bringing in local adults to participate in the project at an early enough stage, or in providing sufficient personnel to deal with them. Committees were set up before there was a felt need for them. The writers emphasize, too, the need for the integration of research and action well in advance, and the close co-operation between the two that is required.

One admires the authors for the frankness and the modesty with which they evaluate the result of their project. They admit that in the main no significant change in the boys' ideology was achieved, though hostility and aggression were diminished. Nevertheless, working relationships with the gang were well established, and there was a noticeable improvement in the gangs' recreational activities as well as in the inter-personal relations among the boys.

The weakest element in the book concerns the effect of the project on the boys themselves. This is a difficult point to determine. In spite of a bold attempt at the illustration of individual problems through the use of case-records, one feels that greater skill and experience in the evaluation of group situations is still required. But it would be unfair to criticize a book of this character for failing to supply information in greater detail than the organization of the project allowed. By their eminently fair assessment of the limitations as well as the achievements of the experiment, they have provided us with a most valuable foundation for future work of this kind.

JOHN SPENCER.

EMOTIONAL DISORDERS OF CHILDREN. By Gerald H. J. Pearson. (London: Geo. Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1951. Pp. 368. Price 18*s*.)

Books dealing with child psychiatry are as a rule little more than clinical guides to the recognition of various types of disorder from the frankly organic cases to the minor purely psychological disturbances. The disturbances of childhood as living processes are rarely conveyed to the reader, and even psychoanalytic formulations frequently lie embedded in theoretical exposition.

Dr. Pearson's volume is a most valuable contribution in that it overcomes both these defects. While broadly based on an acceptable and unsophisticated scheme of classification, there is no rigidity in treatment of the subject, which is always richly illustrated with case studies. These are scattered haphazard throughout the text but grow out of systematic examination of the child. Then follows the discussion of treatment, handling and deep psycho-analytical therapy. The latter is the orientation of the volume throughout; but the author realises that

many cases can be adjusted by social means, particularly by correct advice to parents. The outstanding chapters are those on the intellectually retarded child; the perversions; and character disorders. It will remain a moot point whether the term 'character' can be applied to very young children. Character traits as reaction formations can be accepted on psycho-analytic grounds, but overall character as an established unitary quality is scarcely to be expected before puberty. This is an important volume for all students of psychiatry.

E. M.

EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY. By W. C. Trow. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Second Edition. 1950. Pp. x + 761. Price 35*s*.)

Nearly twenty years have elapsed since the first edition of this book. In that time, as the author points out, important developments have taken place in educational psychology, notably 'the increasing emphasis on child development, the growing acceptance of the organismic view, the ramifications of the guidance movement, and the recognition of the contribution that the school must make to its pupils as members of a democratic society'. The time was therefore ripe for a second edition which should take note of these new developments. For the readers of this journal the chief interest must lie in the author's treatment of delinquency and its problems. While the chief emphasis of the book is upon pupil adjustment through individual and social development there is singularly little space devoted to the pupil who finds difficulty in adjusting and who may become delinquent as a result. The author is apparently quite content to allot some three pages out of a total of 738 pages of text to a consideration of the young delinquent. In Chapter 8 on 'Intelligence and Individual Differences', half a page is devoted to intellectual factors associated with delinquency. We are told, amongst other things, that 'It has been found, for example, that from 10 to 30 per cent. of the delinquent are feebleminded'. No references are given to support this statement. The causes of delinquency are briefly touched upon in the last chapter on Social Learning. Of the part played by intelligence he here says: 'The idea that delinquents are in general below average in intelligence is ill-founded, not only because apprehension is an inadequate measure of the frequency of occurrence of delinquent behaviour, . . . but also because delinquents have about the same range of intelligence as that of the group from which they come.'

The same lack of clarity is shown in his ten-line discussion of the part played by socio-economic status where we read that 'The study of delinquent children has revealed that, so far as economic status is concerned, they are distributed according to the distribution of economic status of the area in which they live. Nevertheless, the delinquency rate is higher in areas of low socio-economic status.'

The author is of the opinion that the chief cause of delinquency lies in the conditioning of the child by adults—that, in fact, it is a learned response. And his final summing up of the problem is in terms of learning. It will, however, hardly help the teacher who is attempting to deal with a young delinquent to be told that 'So far as behaviour is concerned, delinquent acts are psychologically similar to others, *e.g.* driving off in someone else's car and driving off in one's own, or writing the number 4 after 2 + 3 and writing it after 2 + 2. But in each

case we have a wrong and a right response. The difference seems to be that in arithmetic the child gets the wrong answer because he doesn't know how to get the right one, but in stealing he " knows better ".' One cannot help but conclude that the series of statements made here about the general problem, unsupported as they are by any detailed references on the subject, may mislead rather than enlighten the reader seeking information.

G. H. KEIR.

LONG TERM RESULTS OF INFANT SCHOOL METHODS. By D. E. M. Gardner. (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. 1950. Pp. xii + 107. Price 8*s.* 6*d.*)

This book is published at an opportune moment when modern activity methods used in many Infant Schools to-day are being carefully scrutinized, and their effect on the success of children in later school life is being hotly debated by both teachers and parents.

Miss Gardner continues the research published in 1942 under the title ' Testing Results in the Infant School '. In the former study an attempt was made to evaluate the achievements of children educated in schools where the curriculum was based on their spontaneous interests and where there was freedom to move and talk and play, as compared with those of children educated in a more formal and traditional way. The children were equal in age and intelligence, and lived in similar social districts. In the present study the attitudes and achievements of such children are measured when they have passed in to the Junior Schools and reached the ages of nine and ten.

There were considerable difficulties in completing this research because of the variation of methods used in the Junior Schools, the rather frequent changes of teachers in some schools, and the failure to give a non-verbal intelligence test in some cases which penalised the non-readers. If all the tests could be regarded as reliable there was no evidence that the freer methods in the Infant School had created any handicap.

Although the book is not easy reading because it contains so much detail of method and result, it affords valuable factual material and the results of objective tests which give definite evidence to support the use of freer methods in Infant Schools; hence it deserves to be widely read by both teachers and parents.

AGATHA BOWLEY.

LA NARCOSE ET SES APPLICATIONS JUDICIAIRES. By Professor Lhermitte and others. (Paris: Société Internationale de Criminologie. 1951. Pp. 48. Price not stated.)

In view of the importance of the subject (referred to in an Editorial in this *Journal*, Vol. II, No. 1, July, 1951) this record of a symposium held in Paris in February, 1951, deserves the widest publicity. It is reassuring to find a general consensus of opinion against the judicial application of so-called narco-analysis in order to establish a fact; although the distinction drawn by some contributors between narco-diagnosis and narco-analysis is somewhat factitious.

E. G.

THE HAND IN PSYCHOLOGICAL DIAGNOSIS. By Charlotte Wolff. (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. 1951. Pp. xv + 218. Price 32*s.* 6*d.*)

The prospective reader must be informed that this volume has nothing to do with cheiromancy or palmistry. Its approach is wholly scientific and its material foundations rest upon the soil of observation of a number of clinical forms, the resulting conclusions being carefully related to a variety of types of morphological patterns and basic psychological processes. It is diagnostic, not prophetic.

Since the position of man in the evolutionary scale of the higher anthropoids is reflected in his speech and his manual skills, it is *a priori* no wild claim that the human hand should disclose type differences, endocrine peculiarities and, in a remoter sense, intellectual and temperamental endowment. The hand is a tool of learning and an organ of spatial discrimination and must in that measure be a vehicle of the mental life on the level of intelligence. The hand as an index of temperament is displayed in proportion to the dimensions of the fingers; and the development of muscles can be proved to vary with fundamental endocrine endowment.

Dr. Wolff is deeply committed to endocrinology and to the typology of Kretschmer, Sheldon and many others; and she has derived much of her material from hospitals for the mentally defective and the psychotic, as well as from normal persons. Her correlations are between hand shapes, palmar patterns, etc., and the known personality qualities of the possessors.

The author holds that constitutional factors in delinquency have not been sufficiently recognized. She presents a number of tables of numerical incidence of certain characteristics of hands and psychotic and defective types. These are broken down but not analysed or correlated. Some useful lists of child hand measurements and of height and weight are presented; but no correlations are made. Some regression-lines of hand-length and height, normal as against abnormal, show where the deviations lie, but no further correlations are established. All these are useful figures which would entertain a statistician if worked against properly scaled temperament qualities.

The whole subject is promising but very complex. Nothing short of a full factorial analysis will suffice before the next scientific step can be safely taken.

E. M.

TECHNIQUE OF PSYCHOANALYTIC THERAPY. By Sandor Lorand, M.D. (London: George Allen and Unwin. 1950. Pp. vii + 251. Price 12*s.* 6*d.*)

Although designed for the use of advanced students of psycho-analysis, this outline of psycho-analytical technique is clearly and simply written, and provides a suitable introduction for psychiatric and social workers who desire to familiarize themselves with the analytical approach to a variety of mental disorders.

The subject of delinquent conduct is not directly mentioned, but the two chapters on sexual disorders will be found relevant to it. Of special interest to the student of delinquency is the section on ' character-neuroses '. This comprehensive group of personality disorders, in which social maladaptation redounds to the disadvantage of the patient himself, stands in instructive contrast to that psychopathic group in which it takes the form of externally directed (anti-social) aggression.

E. G.

RECENT PROGRESS IN PSYCHIATRY, Vol. II. Edited by G. W. T. H. Fleming. (London: J. and A. Churchill Ltd. for *Journal of Mental Science*. 2nd Edition, 1950. Pp. v + 711. Price 50*s*.)

This volume, the second of this series, continues the work of its predecessor and reviews the psychiatric literature from 1943 onwards. As a book of reference it will prove invaluable, and the extensive bibliographies (with the chapter on personality tests leading easily with some sixteen pages of references!) are a tribute to the industry of the contributors. Those looking for a guide to recent progress in psychiatry may, however, be disappointed. Though there are a number of notable exceptions, uneven selection and inadequate critical appraisal too often result in short recitals of many articles and no emerging theme.

A number of valuable new chapters have been included in this volume and we are promised that those which have been omitted will be restored in the next, due to be published in 1955. So far the social aspects of psychiatry and the emotional aspects of bodily disease have received little attention and perhaps this omission will be remedied in this work's next appearance.

In the chapter on delinquency and crime, Sir Norwood East maintains the high standard of his contribution to the first volume. His article includes valuable sections on juvenile delinquency, crime in adolescence (more extensive treatment would have been justified), crime in maturity and senescence, the effect of imprisonment on mental health, criminal responsibility, insanity and divorce, sexual offences, alcoholism, and diagnosis and treatment.

Though few will treat this work as one to be read through, many will consult it for the valuable information it provides.

BRIAN ACKNER.

DISEASES OF THE NERVOUS SYSTEM. By W. Russell Brain. (London: Oxford University Press. 4th Edition, 1951. Pp. xxii + 1,002. Price 42*s*.)

First published in 1933, this distinguished handbook has now entered upon its fourth edition and therefore contains references to certain advances in therapy, particularly streptomycin for tubercular meningitis, vitamin B_{12} for subacute combined degeneration, and the newer anti-epileptic drugs. This is not the occasion for assessing in detail its coverage of all neurological advances, which have been considerable in the field of higher cerebral functions where neurology and psychology merge into one another.

Here Dr. Brain has amplified the section on aphasia. Electroencephalography has nine references, but no data are given of the temporal lobe syndrome with dysrhythmia in cases of a quasi-hysterical character.

Psychiatrists will be particularly interested in the chapter on autonomic disorders which includes the problem of sleep and allied disturbance of consciousness.

Chapter XXII is devoted to Psychological Aspects of Neurology. This is conveyed largely systematically and the psychopathological aspects are treated sympathetically but not in great detail.

For the psychiatrist the volume is useful as a book of reference concerning borderline problems which for medico-legal reasons the practitioner will ignore at his peril.

E. M.

ABSTRACTS AND REFERENCES

(Under the direction of W. R. Bett with the co-operation of John C. Spencer and E. Hall Williams.)

CRIMINOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

JEAN PINATEL: 'La Criminologie: ses problèmes fondamentaux', *Revue internationale de droit pénal*, 1951, **22** (1er Trimestre), 101–9.

The Secretary-General of the International Society of Criminology discusses, in general terms and with reference to the work of the Society, the objects and methods of Criminology and its relationship to 'politique criminelle'. Because of its pluralistic character, Criminology possesses no method of its own, but has to borrow the techniques employed by its constituent disciplines. This shows the need for teamwork between the various disciplines concerned as well as the need for organized international collaboration.

H. M.

THORSTEN SELLIN: 'The Significance of Records of Crime', *Law Quarterly Review*, October, 1951, **67**, 489–504.

This article embodies the substance of a lecture delivered by Professor Sellin in Cambridge. He describes the nature and purpose of criminal statistics, and indicates the various factors for which allowance must be made when using such statistics as a measure of criminality in the community; for example, the degree of reportability of any particular crime. He points out the advantage of statistics of 'crimes known' compared with conviction statistics, and describes methods of computing crime rates, *i.e.* expressing the frequency of the recorded offence in a population of standard size, such as 100,000. In this connection, and indeed generally, he believes that 'much remains to be done . . . from the points of view of both theory and practice, to make criminal statistics useful'. He concludes with a few words of criticism of the latest British criminal statistics.

E. H. W.

SOLOMON KOBRIN: 'The Conflict of Values in Delinquency Areas', *American Sociological Review*, 1951, **16**, 653–62.

In this paper Professor Kobrin attempts to provide a demonstration of the inadequacies of statistics with respect to the extent of delinquent behaviour in urban slum areas. Examination of statistics of delinquency indicates that no conclusive judgments regarding the proportion of delinquents to non-delinquents may be made on the basis of these statistics. Urban areas with high rates of delinquents are characterized by a duality of conduct norms rather than by the dominance of either a conventional or a criminal culture. Such a hypothesis seems useful in explaining the variability of boys' behaviour in delinquency areas and in accounting for certain psychological mechanisms involved in the origin and persistence of the subculture of the delinquent boys' gang.

A discussion of the subject by Professor George B. Vold follows the paper.

J. C. S.

M. Grünhut: 'Statistics in Criminology', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, *A*, 1951, **114**[2], 139-61. (Two figures; 6 tables; conclusion; 56 references; discussion.)

W. R. B.

R. P. J. Vernet: 'Caractère et relèvement des détenus', *Revue de Criminologie et de Police Technique*, (Janvier-Mars) 1951, **5**, No. 1, 20–32.

Professor Vernet, continuing his analysis of criminal types (see *Brit. J. Delinq.*, **2**, p. 66), distinguishes a number of types: the indifferent ones (*les mous*), the feeble-minded (*les débiles*), the toughs (*les durs*), and the explosives.

Gustave Cornaz: 'Visite à Scotland Yard', *Revue de Criminologie et de Police Technique*, (Janvier-Mars) 1951, **5**, No. 1, 37–46.

Major Cornaz, Commandant de la gendarmerie vaudoise, Lausanne, describes the work of Scotland Yard. While mainly concerned with questions of Police technique, he makes the interesting remark that the number of persons annually killed in London is, proportionally, smaller than that in Switzerland (in 1948, one per 8,500 inhabitants against one per 6,000), which provides another argument against the widely held theory that murder is more frequent in big cities.

H. M.

J. Ll. J. Edwards: 'The Prevention of Crime', *The Solicitor*, (July) 1951, **18**, 164–6.

This consists of a short appreciation of the *British Journal of Delinquency* by Mr. Edwards, formerly Lecturer in Laws, University College, London, and now at Queen's University, Belfast. He welcomes the appearance of this new Journal and says that, 'judging by the announced aims of the editors, the range of the subjects discussed, and the standard of the contributions . . . much good can result' from it. He expresses the hope that the articles published in it will contain the minimum of technical language, with suitable explanatory notes for the guidance of non-scientific readers, so that those people, like lawyers and social workers, whose task it is to educate public opinion with regard to delinquency, may be able to grasp the views of the contributors. Mr. Edwards considers that so long as the editorial policy maintains the sound down-to-earth attitude which it professes with regard to the problem of adult and juvenile delinquency, the Journal will do a great service.

'A Symposium on Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency', *Harvard Law Review*, (April) 1951, **64**, 1022–41.

It contains the comments of nine eminently qualified members of various professions on the latest study published by Doctors Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. The contributors include experts on Sociology, Criminology, Psychiatry, Physical Anthropology, Psychology, Education and Juvenile Delinquency, and there is an introductory note by Judge Felix Frankfurter.

E. H. W.

Sol Rubin: 'Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency. I. Illusions in a Research Project', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1951, **57**, 107–15.

The writer finds weaknesses in the plan of the work, in the method employed, in its findings, and in its interpretation. He questions the Gluecks' basic assump-

tion that it must be the physical and mental make-up of offenders, as compared with non-offenders, that presents the crucial and practical issue in the study of crime causation. The study says nothing about the effect of institutional life on the inmate, and he argues that the delinquent group is, in fact, a specially selected one. He raises also serious questions as to the practical use of the prediction tables in the prevention of delinquency. Prevention is more a social than an individual problem. It strives to control adverse conditions which contribute to difficulties in children. Prediction tables do not assist in this broad approach to prevention. He criticizes the ' causal formulation or law ' of delinquent behaviour on the grounds that their law is untested, being derived from data but not tested by them.

Albert J. Reiss, Jr.: ' Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency. II. An Appraisal of the Research Methods ', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1951, **57,** 115–20.

Discussion is confined to the theory and design of the research, its sociological adequacy, and the predictions of delinquency. From the perspective of the sociologists it is argued that the volume has many shortcomings. The matching of the two samples as to neighbourhood environment fails to take into account the fact that there are considerable variations both inter- and intra-neighbourhood, and that these influences must be measured by indices of the character of the local social life and institutional control. Certain other ' sociological factors ' in delinquency, particularly the normative and control factors, are inadequately discussed. For example, what is the rôle of social groups in developing the delinquency-oriented character structure? As regards the Gluecks' prediction tables based on five factors of social background the writer argues that it is impossible to evaluate the predictive efficiency of an operating table. The study does, however, present a body of data which can be re-worked and re-evaluated.

Edwin Powers: ' Some Reflections on Juvenile Delinquency ', *Federal Probation*, 1950, **14,** No. 4, 21–6.

The Director of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study discusses the ten-year project in the prevention of delinquency. A more complete evaluation of the programme is in preparation. The plan called for a comparison of the two groups of 325 boys, the treatment and control groups, to see if the boys who had been helped by the study turned out any better than those who had not. He asks—how was it that the control group which, unlike the treatment group, received no help from the staff, turned out so well? He suggests that the strengthening influences of the church, the school and other social agencies that are implicitly operating on the problem, are likely to be overlooked. Serious delinquency was not found to be extensive. Comparison between the success rate of a particular case-worker and of others using more conventional case-work methods showed a much greater result. J. C. S.

R. Chadefaux: ' The Problem of Delinquent Childhood in France ', *Courrier*, (September) 1951, **1,** 7–11.

Since the aim is the reclaiming of the child, no effort should be spared to understand him as thoroughly as possible. In France the age of penal majority is set at eighteen years. For delinquents from thirteen to eighteen, educational and readjustment treatment is provided. The office has been created of a Children's

Judge, held by specialized magistrates. The mission of this judge is complex: he may order a social case enquiry, a medico-psychological examination, or placement of the child in an observation centre. At the disposal of the Children's Court of the Department of the Seine is a Probation System, operated by a Service of Probation Officers, directed by a Chief of Service, and comprising sixteen permanent officers and about 1,000 voluntary probation officers. Surveys covering the last six years and thousands of cases have shown that 70 per cent. of delinquent boys submitted to probation may be regarded as rehabilitated. Eighty per cent. of delinquent children belong to disorganized, unorganized, or irregular homes. Few minor delinquents suffer from mental diseases.

A. Sommer: 'Crise de l'adolescence et délinquance juvénile', *Strasbourg Médical*, 1950, **1**, suppl. **1**, 11–5.

W. R. B.

CRIMINAL PSYCHOPATHOLOGY

A. E. Bennett, Eugene A. Hargrove and Bernice Engle: 'Present Status and Future Needs of Psychiatric Facilities in General Hospitals in the United States and Canada', *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, 1951, **108**, 321–7.

A survey of psychiatric facilities in the United States and Canada reported. Only 279 of 4,761 United States general hospitals have in-patient psychiatric service. Psychiatric personnel is below minimum numbers; facilities to train them are also inadequate; not enough research is done at the medical schools. Six references.

T. Grygier.

J. Ravn: 'Psychiatric Examinations of 83 Girls in a Reception and Observation Home', *Acta Psychiatrica et Neurologica*, 1951, suppl. **60**, 172–9. (Two figures; 7 tables.)

L. Cornil and H. Ollivier: 'A propos des expertises mentales des enfants délinquants', *Sud Médical et Chirurgical*, (September 30) 1951, **83**, 1239–40. (Two references.)

E. Fraenkel: 'La responsabilité dans la délinquance nevrotique', *Psyché, Paris*, (March) 1951, **6**, 167–78.

A. A. Hartman: 'Criminal Aliases: A Psychological Study', *Journal of Psychology*, (July) 1951, **32**, 49–56. (Summary; 14 references.)

P. W. Tappan: 'Treatment of the Sex Offender in Denmark', *American Journal of Psychiatry*, (October) 1951, **108**, 241–9. (Table; 10 footnotes.)

Denmark is unique in possessing an institution for psychopaths which, unlike the ordinary prison or hospital has highly specialized social-psychiatric facilities for treatment and training. Psychopathic detainees are committed to the Asylum for Psychopathic Criminals at Herstedvester for indeterminate periods. The superintendent, who is physician-in-chief and psychiatrist, is assisted by four physicians with forensic training, a psychologist, social workers, and custodians with previous hospital experience. Importance is attached to the indefinite duration of the patient's stay in the asylum, and every effort is made to show that

co-operation and the assumption of an active rôle in the treatment process will help him secure his freedom. Inmates work an eight-hour day in useful occupations, and free-time activities aim at the encouragement of self-expression. The question of castration for the sex psychopath is reviewed, and it is emphasized that the detainee must show *hyper-sexuality* beyond doubt or a *stable sexually conditioned criminality*, before this irreversible treatment is used.

K. M. Bowman: 'The Problem of the Sex Offender', *American Journal of Psychiatry*, (October) 1951, **108**, 250–7. (Conclusions; 27 references.)

The wide variation is discussed in the statutes relating to sex behaviour within the United States. There is no agreement even as to what is healthy sex behaviour. Judging by the number of arrests and convictions, exhibitionism is the most frequent sex offence. Homosexuality, fetishism, offences against children, the effect upon victims, murder, diagnostic tests, and treatment are discussed. The author concludes that the complexity of the problem requires co-operative research by scientists from many different fields if better diagnosis, treatment and prevention of sexual offences is to be realized. The importance of studying individual facets of the problem is stressed.

P. Sanjurjo Díaz: 'Educación estético-sexual juvenil como profilaxia del onanismo', *Clínica y Laboratorio*, (August) 1951, año **36**, t. **52**, 81–96. (Thirty-six references.)

G. Tiretta: 'Considerazioni sulla funzione sessuale nelle psicopatiche', *Rivista d'Ostetricia e Ginecologia Pratica*, (November) 1950, **32**, 578–82.

M. Caron: 'De quelques aspects et problèmes médico-légaux de la délinquance sexuelle', *Evolution Psychiatrique*, (April-June) 1951, fasc. **2**, 193–214. (Discussion.)

G. E. Poucher: 'The Rôle of a Juvenile Court Psychiatric Clinic in the Management of the Defective Delinquent', *American Journal of Mental Deficiency*, (October) 1951, **56**, 275–82. (Summary; 19 references.)

The psychiatrist to Allegheny County Juvenile Court in Western Pennsylvania reports that the defective delinquent forms only 7 per cent. of the juvenile court clinic case-records. In his experience defective delinquents form a heterogeneous group with many characteristics of true neurosis affecting behaviour and intellectual performance. He recommends the use of local schools as the initial step in the rehabilitation of those showing signs of developing serious behaviour problems. State schools for defective delinquents should be transformed into special psychiatric hospitals for children. With the ordinary delinquent psychotherapy is useful.

A. E. Westwell: 'The Defective Delinquent', *American Journal of Mental Deficiency*, (October) 1951, **56**, 283–9.

The superintendent of Montana State Training School, Boulder, presents evidence from a number of quoted opinions to show that the defective delinquent constitutes a real threat to the mentally deficient and to the programmes designed for their education and care.

W. R. B.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS

A. Mann: 'The Problem of Testing the Defective Delinquent', *American Journal of Mental Deficiency*, (October) 1951, **56**, 411–8. (Conclusion: 8 references.)

The Binet Intelligence Test as applied to the feeble-minded delinquent, and personality deviations requiring new consideration in the testing situation are discussed, and a clinical interpretation is attempted of the Binet and related tests.

E. O. Fromm and A. S. Elonen: 'The Use of Projective Techniques in the Study of a Case of Female Homosexuality', *Journal of Projective Techniques*, (June) 1951, **15**, 185–230. (Table; 2 figures; summary; 33 references.)

E. G. Schachtel: 'Notes on Rorschach Tests of 500 Juvenile Delinquents and a Control Group of 500 Non-Delinquent Adolescents', *Journal of Projective Techniques*, (June) 1951, **15**, 144–72. (Eight tables; 22 references.)

M. Schachter and S. Cotte: 'Étude de la prostitution juvénile à la lumière du test de Rorschach', *Archives Internationales de Neurologie*, (January) 1951, **70**, 4–18.

W. R. B.

TREATMENT AND PENOLOGY

J. A. Roux: 'Règles propres à prévenir la récidive', *Revue internationale de droit pénal*, 1951, **22** (1er Trimestre), 13–5.

The author gives a list of eleven common-sense principles to be followed by Courts and prison administrations to prevent recidivism. Among others: Don't try to convert a factory-worker into an agricultural labourer or *vice versa*. Don't employ prisoners on domestic maintenance work at the expense of their training; it may reduce the costs of prison administration, but society will have to pay for it later.

H. M.

M. Bachet: 'Les conceptions biologiques concernant la délinquance et les interventions sur le lobe frontal des délinquants', *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, (June) 1951, **109** ann., t. *ii*, 22–41. (Seven references.)

Running through present-day notions on the criminal is the idea that 'there is a category of delinquents and criminals whose disturbances of social behaviour seem essentially of a biological or bio-psychological nature'.

In a lengthy historical survey the author shows that various elements contributing to this concept have been expressed by previous writers. In the pre-Lombrosian period the monomanias were stressed. Lombroso drew attention to the importance of heredity, and his idea, if not of the epileptic born-criminal (epileptic being used in the broad, Lombrosian sense), at least of the epileptoid 'deficient' subject, has since been verified. The eclectic, post-Lombrosian writers stressed degeneracy. According to modern authors the stigmata carried by these delinquents may be considered as affecting not the exterior but the interior of the body, indicating not morphological but mental anomaly, and should be studied by psychiatry, radiology, endocrinology, and electro-encephalography. Mention is made of Michael's recent work on the high incidence of enuresis among delinquents and criminals. Their social lack of control runs parallel to their physiological lack of control.

Recent surgery of the frontal lobes in severe cases in this category is completely opposed to the biological concept of delinquency. The author advocates a less severe treatment which will enrich rather than injure these areas. Not only is such intervention not justified on theoretical grounds, but spontaneous cures often occur, especially between twenty-five and thirty-five years of age, and, moreover, cases which have been operated on show no signs of improvement.

W. R. B.

' Corrective Training ', *Justice of the Peace and Local Government Review*, (September 29) 1951, **115,** 615–6.

This anonymous contribution contains statistics of cases dealt with by a typical county quarter sessions in the last two years in which the question of sentencing to corrective training was considered. From these figures, it appears that very few of those technically qualified for corrective training were actually so sentenced (10 per cent.), and this compares somewhat unfavourably with the position as regards Borstal training, where in the same period a much higher percentage of those technically qualified for Borstal training were actually so sentenced. Of persons technically qualified for corrective training, the prison commissioners reported that over 60 per cent. were unsuitable for such training although medically fit. A large proportion of these offenders were under twenty-five and were sent to prison for eighteen months or more. Moreover, there are many young persons under twenty-five who do not qualify for corrective training because of the narrow requirement for qualification (two previous convictions for an indictable offence since attaining the age of seventeen), but who might well have benefited from a period of such training. The contributor concludes by suggesting that the conditions precedent to a sentence of corrective training should be widened, especially in regard to the younger offenders.

E. H. W.

Norman Fenton: ' The Graduate School of Correctional Service ', *School and Society*, (June 23) 1951, **73,** 385–8.

Dr. Fenton stresses the close connection between the work of the educator and that of the specialist staff of correctional institutions and the need for development of a graduate school of correctional service ' to integrate what is now being done in piecemeal fashion into an ordered, meaningful, and better integrated program of training '.

H. M.

A. G. Rose: ' First Report of the Committee on Punishments ', *Modern Law Review*, (October) 1951, **14,** 475–8.[1]

Mr. Rose is highly critical of the main recommendations of the Committee, contained in this First Report (Cmd. 8256), although he is prepared to admit that one or two of the minor recommendations are valuable, for instance, the proposed increase in prisoners' pay, and the revision of Restricted Diet No. 2 (already undertaken by the Home Office). He is particularly concerned about the attitude of the Committee towards indiscipline in Borstal institutions. (They recommend retention of Restricted Diet No. 1 and transfer of ' troublemakers ' to special establishments). He considers that most of the Committee's recommendations ' are strongly redolent of the " Visiting Committee view " . . . in

[1] See also the Note on the Report in this Journal, Vol. II, pp. 239–242. [Ed.]

which the maintenance of group discipline transcends by far the demands of individualization of treatment'. Mr. Rose considers that there are two serious dangers involved in this attitude: (1) Failure to keep discipline and punishment in line with the operation of the training system. (2) The possible effect of heavier punishment and tighter discipline upon the staff of Borstal institutions. He concludes by observing that the Committee 'are also rather too ready to argue from the particular to the general, and to recommend general and permanent changes to remedy local and transient difficulties'.

E. H. W.

A. W. WATT: 'Crime and Punishment', *Medical Press*, (October 24) 1951, **226**, 415–7.

W. R. B.

ROY FENTON: 'Prison Without Bars (No. 2)', *Cyprus Review*, 1950, **6**, No. 12, 7–10.

A second tented camp has recently closed at Aghirda in Cyprus. The first one, held last year at Panagra, proved also very successful. Camps are run in this way for a few months at a time while the prisoners are employed on operations such as road improvement. The next job is at Kyrenia Castle for the Antiquities Department. Fifty-six star prisoners have been selected. Ten long-sentence convicts formed the camp staff, while the remainder, serving sentences between six months and two years, worked on the road. Work lasts for seven hours a day, while the week-ends are devoted to bathing or games. Useful work is being done and the rehabilitation of the prisoners is emphasized.

J. C. S.

ERNST G. BEIER: 'Experimental Therapy with a Gang', *Focus*, (July) 1951, **30**, 97–102.

The author, head of the Mental Hygiene Department, Syracuse University, New York, describes some experimental therapeutic work with members of a gang in a slum area of Manhattan. A psychologist administered a series of tests, including the Rorschach, followed by group therapy sessions, largely unstructured, held at Columbia University. Although no follow-up study of the group has so far been undertaken, the workers believe that the boys had become happier and better adjusted.

H. M.

JANE KAHN, A. D. BUCHMUELLER and MARGARET C-L. GILDEA: 'Group Therapy for Parents of Behaviour Problem Children in Public Schools. Failure of the Method in a Negro School', *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, 1951, **108**, 351–7.

This project was based on the assumption that abnormal behaviour in pre-adolescent children arises mainly from problems in the home. For that reason psychotherapy for parents is more beneficial to the mental health of the whole family and has a better effect on children than direct forms of child therapy. Several experimental groups were started, and proved very successful in white areas. In a coloured minority area the project failed; this was probably due to inter-racial tensions and status anxieties, lower cultural level and lower degree of group cohesion.

T. GRYGIER.

MENTAL HEALTH

HESS FARMER and WILLIAM B. ROSSMAN: ' Helping Teachers Appreciate Emotional Problems in Children ', *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, 1951, **108**, 374–80.

A special course for teachers described. It is emphasized that teachers are not expected to do therapy, but their understanding of emotional problems in children offers a sound basis for creating an ideal setting in which mental health principles can be developed.

T. GRYGIER.

T. LEVÊQUE-DEMARLY: ' Protection of Maladjusted and Delinquent Children in the Belgian Congo and in Non-Autonomous African Territories ', *Courrier*, (September) 1951, **1**, 16–9.

M.-TH. LEVÊQUE-DEMARLY: ' Protection of Maladjusted and Delinquent Children in the Belgian Congo and in Non-Autonomous African Territories. II. The Non-Autonomous African Territories', *Courrier*, (October) 1951, **1**, 8–12.

W. R. B.

CRIMINAL LAW

THOMAS WÜRTENBERGER: ' Der Jugendliche vor dem Strafrichter ', *Studium Generale*, (May) 1951, **4**, 291–9.

Professor Würtenberger discusses the special tasks of the German juvenile court judge in relation to the modern conception of the criminal responsibility of the juvenile, in particular, the duty of the judge to consult biological, psychological and sociological experts. He regards the working out of a scientific system of criminological types as indispensable for the understanding of the juvenile offender and discusses the various attempts made in recent German literature to develop such a system. He also examines the measures at the disposal of the German Juvenile Courts with regard to the different types of offenders.

H. M.

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